

# JINNAH PAPERS

JINNAH: CALL FOR UNITY, FAITH AND DISCIPLINE  
1 August 1941—31 March 1942



THIRD SERIES  
Volume XVII

*Editor-in-Chief*  
**M. AKRAM SHAHEEDI**

QUAID-I-AZAM PAPERS WING  
MINISTRY OF CULTURE  
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

**QUAID-I-AZAM  
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH  
PAPERS**

**JINNAH: CALL FOR UNITY, FAITH AND  
DISCIPLINE**

**1 August 1941 — 31 March 1942**

***Editor-in-Chief***

**M. Akram Shaheedi**

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Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah



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## *Acknowledgments*

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*First Edition 2009*

*Copyright: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing 2009*

*ISBN 978-969-8156-27-5*

*Published by*

**Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing  
Ministry of Culture  
Government of Pakistan  
Islamabad**

*Imageset and Printed by*

**Khyber Printers  
Islamabad**

# In Memoriam

**Dr. Zawwar Husain Zaidi\***  
(1928-2009)

Dr. Zawwar Husain Zaidi, an Aligarh alumnus, ardent supporter of Pakistan Movement, and an aficionado of Quaid-i-Azam, played an active role in leading many student delegations to promote the Muslim cause in the sub-continent.

Dr. Zaidi, born at Badaun (U.P. India), obtained M.A. and LL.B. degrees from the Muslim University, Aligarh. Later, he joined Forman Christian College, Lahore, as a lecturer where he taught for some twelve years. He was selected as a research fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, where he obtained a PhD degree.

Dr. Zaidi's lifelong ambition to collect and publish Quaid's papers became a reality in 1990 when the Government of Pakistan decided to establish the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project and first Editor-in-Chief. The with the Quaid-i-Azam and renamed as the Quaid-i-Dr. Zaidi headed the almost eighteen years during out over twenty five volumes English, Urdu and Persian. a number of articles on the Pakistan covering political, social dimensions. Dr. Zaidi historian and scholar. He was *Imtiaz* for his meritorious fields of publication and historical records. It was by way of publishing *Jinnah Papers* that Dr. Zaidi paid a befitting tribute to the Father of the Nation who was a source of inspiration for him.



appointed him as its Project was merged Academy in 2001 Azam Papers Wing. organization for which he brought of *Jinnah Papers* in He also contributed Quaid's vision of economic and was a distinguished awarded *Sitara-i-services* in the preservation of

Dr. Zaidi breathed his last on 31 March 2009. His demise was deeply condoled by scholars and friends alike. Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing and some other academic organizations held condolence references in which prominent personalities paid glowing tributes to the deceased, describing him as a national asset.

President Asif Ali Zardari, Prime Minister Syed Yousuf Raza Gilani, Speaker National Assembly Dr. Fahmida Mirza and other dignitaries complimented Dr. Zaidi as a renowned academic, an accomplished teacher and an authority on historical archives and documentation. His distinctive contribution in publishing *Jinnah Papers* will long be remembered by the scholars as well as future generations.

\* In recognition of his outstanding contribution, the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing dedicates this Volume to Dr. Z.H. Zaidi, the founding Editor-in-Chief.

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Quaid-i-Azam presiding over annual session of the Muslim League with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan sitting besides him at Allahabad, April 1942



## **-: Foreword :-**

The present volume of the *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, subtitled *Jinnah: Call for Unity, Faith and Discipline*, covers the period from August 1941 to March 1942, a critical phase in the All India Muslim League's struggle for a sovereign Muslim statehood in the sub-continent and the revamping of its organisation for achieving the cherished goal.

The Second World War took a critical turn when, Nazi Germany occupied France; and a year later opened a new front in the East by invading the Soviet Union. Meantime, Germany in tandem with her Axis partner Italy under Mussolini, overran North Africa all the way from the western Atlantic coast to the borders of Egypt. Britain was hard-pressed to push back the Axis forces under the command of General Rommel.

In a desperate bid to bolster the war effort, the Viceroy in India enlarged his Executive Council and set up a National Defence Council, comprising some 30 high-profile Indian political leaders. These leaders—the League Premiers of Assam, Bengal and the Punjab, Sir Mohammad Saadulla, A. K. Fazlul Huq and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, respectively, besides prominent Leaguers like the Nawab of Chhatari, Sir Sultan Ahmad and Begum Shah Nawaz were inducted without League's consent. The Muslim League had thus come under severe strain when it was confronted with a gargantuan challenge to its authority. Disciplinary action was, therefore, taken against the errant members on the recommendation of the League's Working Committee. The action succeeded in persuading Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Sir Mohammad Saadulla to resign from the Viceroy's Council while Fazlul Huq was expelled from the League for masterminding an anti-League coalition in Bengal. Jinnah responded by urging the Muslim Bengal to unite under Khwaja Nazimuddin and to overthrow Huq's coalition ministry.

The failure of the Viceroy's attempts and the political gains by the Muslim League led to the British Prime Minister Churchill sending Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons, to India for a just and final solution of the Indian constitutional conundrum. Mr. Churchill emphasized the dire need for "the necessary measure of assent not only for the Indian majority but also for those minorities" among whom the Muslims were "the most numerous and most prominent". Cripps felt that he was "fully impressed with the need in any scheme for the future of India to meet the deep anxieties" which existed

among the Muslims and other communities. The Cripps Offer, was, thus a major step forward towards the Muslim demand for Pakistan.

Although the Muslim League expressed “their gratification” over “the possibility of Pakistan” being “recognized by implication” as a result of acceptance of the right of non-accession to the Indian Union by the provinces. However, the League felt that the modalities laid down in the Draft Declaration for the exercise of that right rendered the professed object as nugatory. Hence the League Working Committee rejected the Declaration. So did the Congress Working Committee—but for exactly the opposite reasons: “the novel principle of non-accession for the provinces” which it regarded as “a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity”.

Other subjects dealt with in the present volume concern the Non-Party Leaders’ Conference, the League Working Committee’s intercession with the Viceroy for the release of Allama Mashriqi and the launch of *Dawn* weekly from Delhi as the first League newspaper in English.

The current volume is seventeenth in the overall sequence and third in the third series. The documents included in this volume have been drawn mostly from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (QAP), which are preserved in the National Archives of Pakistan and constitute a major part of the voluminous papers of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The other two collections on the Quaid are the *Shamsul Hassan Collection* (SHC) and the *Rizwan Collection* (RC). These collections cover most of his dynamic and inspiring life albeit with gaps. The QAP deal with a wide range of subjects and events, including the All India Muslim League (AIML), other political organizations primarily the Congress, constitutional and international issues prevalent at the time.

With the object of documenting the primary evidence for better understanding of Jinnah, the decision to publish the QAP was taken by the Government of Pakistan in 1990. Later that year, the late Dr. Z. H. Zaidi, Senior Research Fellow, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, was appointed as the first Editor-in-Chief of the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project. The *Jinnah Papers* (JP) are, thus, the first systematic endeavour to publish the entire corpus—a befitting tribute to the Father of the Nation. For purposes of publication, the JP have been arranged into different series—each one containing a number of volumes.



The period to be covered by the volumes in various series has been determined with reference to the relative importance of various events in Jinnah's political and personal life. However, the scheme of publication follows a chronological pattern for each of its series. It was decided to publish the volumes in the reverse order. The periods encompassing 20 February to 14 August 1947 and 15 August to 30 September 1948 represent, respectively, the culmination of Jinnah's struggle to secure Pakistan and to lay down the basic structure of the new state. This phase was covered in the first seven volumes of *JP*. Volumes VIII and IX deal with issues relating to the future of the princely states. Altogether, Volumes I to IX constitute the first series of the *Jinnah Papers*.

The next five volumes, X to XIV, in the second series, cover the period from 1 October 1943 to 19 February 1947. These relate to contemporary issues such as Jinnah-Gandhi talks (September 1944), the first and second Simla Conferences (June-July 1945 and May 1946), the Cabinet Mission Plan (March-June 1946), the Interim Government (July-November 1946), the League's boycott of the Constituent Assembly (November-December 1946) and the London Conference (December 1946).

The third series begins with Volume XV, sub-titled *Pakistan: The Goal Defined* which covers the period from 1 January to 31 August 1940. This period is important for two historical developments: firstly, the epochal Lahore Resolution and secondly the British Government's monumental declaration of 8 August 1940. The winning of this declaration, often described as one of Jinnah's greatest triumphs, secured for Muslims virtually the veto power over the ultimate shape of the future constitutional settlement. It later saved the Muslims—and the Muslim League—from being bypassed at the (first) Simla Conference during June-July 1945. The 'August Offer', had the effect of putting a premium on the Muslim demand for Pakistan.

The next volume, XVI, sub-titled *Muslim League: Striving for Consolidation*, covers the period from 1 September 1940 to 31 July 1941. This period is characterized by the Congress' and League's responses to the 'August Offer', which were, of course, divergent. While, Jinnah as usual, played cool, going about strategically consolidating upon the gains in the 'August Offer' during his negotiations with the Viceroy, the Congress, in contrast, seemed smitten and desperate. It demanded a declaration of full independence for India after the war; and the immediate formation of a provisional National Government at the Centre.

Quaid's speeches and statements, as published in newspapers,

have generally not been included. However, where necessary, references to the relevant publications have been given. Primary documents, as also the appendix have been listed chronologically. These have been identified by quoting the source or repository notation and the relevant file or volume and the page number(s) as available.

Documents included in the present volume have been selected from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (QAP) (e.g. F. 1092/100-1); the *Archives of Freedom Movement* (e.g. AFM 133/63-73); the *Shamsul Hasan Collection* (e.g. SHC, P&P II/1-2) and occasionally from the contemporary newspapers and other sources. Documents listed in earlier volumes of *Jinnah Papers* have been referred to by document number, volume number and page number(s) (e.g. No. 548, JP, XVI, 698-700). References to the present volume mention only the document number (e.g. No. 286).

Materials of repetitive nature, requests for pecuniary assistance, employment, messages and similar routine matters, have generally not been included.

We are much heartened by the continued interest shown by Madam Dina, Quaid's daughter, in *Jinnah Papers*.

The present volume, as is the case with earlier ones, is the outcome of the hard work put in by the dedicated team of Editors and Research Officer and the diligence and meticulous labour with which the documents were sifted, selected and compiled. I am highly indebted to my colleagues and feel great pleasure in acknowledging their contribution. The staff involved in typing and composing of the manuscripts also deserve my appreciation.

M. AKRAM SHAHEEDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing  
Ministry of Culture  
Islamabad  
25 December 2009

## -: Introduction :-

Never before in the annals of history had events outside South Asia affected the sub-continent as they did during the Second World War (1939-45). The War led to loosening of the grip of colonial powers the world over, and as such, provided impetus to the freedom movement in India.

The present volume relates to the political developments that took place from August 1941 to March 1942 in the backdrop of the Second World War. In the wake of Axis victories, the British Government was compelled to seek increased support by Indians, though cosmetic, in order to bolster up their war effort. With this end in view, the Viceroy unilaterally enlarged the Executive Council and also set up the National Defence Council by nominating prominent Indians from the major communities, including Muslim Premiers of Assam, Bengal and the Punjab.<sup>1</sup> The bait of wider representation, however, did not measure up to the expectations of either the Congress or the Muslim League, though for different reasons.

The Congress had insisted on “vindication of India’s freedom”<sup>2</sup> from the British under Gandhi’s leadership. The Party expected its members to render Gandhi “full assistance in the prosecution of his mission, including the offering of civil disobedience.”<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the Muslim League was unwilling to cooperate without sharing real power and authority in government both at the centre and in the provinces.<sup>4</sup> It primarily focused on the demand for Pakistan—the foremost goal of the Muslims.<sup>5</sup>

The League strongly reacted to the intriguing move of the Viceroy pertaining to the inclusion of Muslims in the Executive and Defence Councils. Jinnah protested that the persons so nominated were “neither real representatives of the people nor” did “they command the confidence and trust of the Muslims.”<sup>6</sup> Since the Muslim League premiers had been inducted without taking the AIML leadership into confidence, Jinnah criticised the Viceroy’s action as having caused “defections in the ranks” of the League.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Roger Lumley to M. A. Jinnah, 20 July 1941, No. 519, JP, XVI, 655-6.

<sup>2</sup>A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, eds., *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress: A Fight to the Finish 1939-1946*, Vol. XII, New Delhi, 1981, 375.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 448.

<sup>4</sup>Press interview given by M. A. Jinnah, 2 January 1942, Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation’s Voice: United We Win*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1996, 355-6.

<sup>5</sup>Speech by M. A. Jinnah, 2 June 1941, *ibid.*, 257-8.

<sup>6</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 22 July 1941, *ibid.*, 270-2.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*



The League Working Committee too described the Viceroy's action as a breach of the solemn promises made in his statement of 8 August 1940,<sup>8</sup> in which he assured all the minorities including the Muslims that their rights would be adequately safeguarded and that no future constitution would be adopted without their consent. When Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, requested Jinnah to overlook the Viceroy's action,<sup>9</sup> Jinnah rejoined that "no honourable party can exist if discipline [and] public life can be tampered with by outside agency."<sup>10</sup>

The League Working Committee decided to take disciplinary action against those who had joined the Defence Council against the party's consent. In the meantime, Premiers Sikander Hyat Khan of the Punjab and Mohammad Saadulla of Assam had decided to resign from the National Defence Council. Therefore, no action was taken against them.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, Premier Fazlul Huq of Bengal,<sup>12</sup> Nawab of Chhatari,<sup>13</sup> Begum Shah Nawaz<sup>14</sup> and Sir Sultan Ahmad<sup>15</sup> were served with notices to resign from the National Defence Council within ten days, failing which the League President would be authorized to take action. As far as Nawab Chhatari was concerned, he informed Liaquat Ali Khan that he had already resigned from the National Defence Council four weeks earlier.<sup>16</sup> Sir Sultan Ahmad and Begum Shah Nawaz were removed from the membership of the AIML and its Council for five years for violating the party discipline.<sup>17</sup>

Fazlul Huq reacted sharply by resigning simultaneously from the National Defence Council, the Working Committee and Council of the Muslim League, alleging the action of the League President as "unconstitutional in the highest degree".<sup>18</sup> On this, he was called upon by the Working Committee to withdraw his allegations

<sup>8</sup>Statement by Marquess of Linlithgow, 8 August 1940, Enclosure to No. 506, *JP*, XV, 687-9.

<sup>9</sup>Hassan Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 29 July 1941, No. 544, *JP*, XVI, 694.

<sup>10</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Hassan Suhrawardy, Telegram, 1 August 1941, No. 3.

<sup>11</sup>Proceedings of AIML Working Committee Meeting, 24-26 August 1941, No. 83, Resolution No. 2.

<sup>12</sup>Liaquat Ali Khan to A. K. Fazlul Huq, Telegram, 25 August 1941, No. 79.

<sup>13</sup>Proceedings of AIML Working Committee Meeting, 24-26 August 1941, No. 83, Resolution No. 3.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, Resolution No. 4.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, Resolution No. 5.

<sup>16</sup>Liaquat Ali Khan to Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari, 26 August 1941, No. 84 & Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari to M. A. Jinnah, 29 August 1941, No. 91.

<sup>17</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 12 September 1941, F. 97/38-40, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>18</sup>A. K. Fazlul Huq to Liaquat Ali Khan, 8 September 1941, Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence 1936-1948*, Karachi, 1976, 641-51.

and apologise.<sup>19</sup> On reaffirming his allegiance and commitment to the Party, the Working Committee took no further action.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, Fazlul Huq soon formed a coalition ministry with the help of miscellaneous groups (Congress Forward Bloc, Krishak Proja Samiti and Independent Scheduled Castes) in Bengal.<sup>21</sup> This prompted Jinnah to expel Huq from the Party and to ask the Muslim Bengal to unite under Nazimuddin's leadership and overthrow Huq's Ministry.<sup>22</sup> In frustration, Huq filed a suit against his expulsion,<sup>23</sup> which he withdrew<sup>24</sup> after about five years by pledging "wholehearted loyalty, devotion and support... unconditionally" to the Party.<sup>25</sup>

In view of the undisciplined and unprincipled<sup>26</sup> conduct of some party members, as mentioned above, Jinnah gave the guiding motto of "Faith, Unity and Discipline" to the Muslims as a fundamental doctrine of the freedom struggle.<sup>27</sup> He underscored its importance in a message on the occasion of 'Id-al-Fitr in 1941 by appealing to them for the "realisation of political goal, namely Pakistan".<sup>28</sup> Later, he urged them again to "go forward" "with faith in our heart, unity in our camp, discipline in our rank"<sup>29</sup> to "realize our goal of Pakistan".

Reverting to the prevailing political realities, Jinnah rejected Tej Bahadur Sapru's Non-Party Leaders' Conference proposals<sup>30</sup> for Dominion status and reconstitution of the Executive Council by asserting that these proposals were an attempt to scuttle the demand for Pakistan, leading to establish a Hindu *raj*.<sup>31</sup> The Congress

<sup>19</sup>Proceedings of AIML Working Committee Meeting, 26-27 October 1941, AFM 133/93-5, Resolution No. 2. Not printed.

<sup>20</sup>Proceedings of AIML Working Committee Meeting, 18 November 1941, No. 232, Resolution No. 1.

<sup>21</sup>M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah, 29 November 1941, No. 247.

<sup>22</sup>Proceedings of AIML Working Committee Meeting, 26-27 December 1941, AFM 136/96, Resolution No. 3. Not printed.

<sup>23</sup>M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah, 25 February 1942, No. 385, note 1.

<sup>24</sup>Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence 1936-1948*, Karachi, 1976, 486, note 1.

<sup>25</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 8 September 1946, Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice : Deadlock, Frustration and Riots*, Vol. V, Karachi, 2001, 266-7.

<sup>26</sup>M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah, 2 April 1943, Z. H. Zaidi, op.cit., 339.

<sup>27</sup>M. A. Jinnah to H. S. Suhrawardy, Telegram, 18 September 1941, No. 133.

<sup>28</sup>Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. III, Lahore, 1996, 1453-4 & F. 1022/24-6, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>29</sup>Message by M. A. Jinnah, 22 March 1944, Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice : Unity, Faith and Discipline*, Vol. III, Karachi, 1997, 432-3.

<sup>30</sup>Marquess of Linlithgow to L. S. Amery, 23 February 1942, No. 168, TP, I, 226-7.

<sup>31</sup>Proceedings of AIML Working Committee Meeting, 22 February 1942, AFM 334/3-4, Resolution No. 1. Not printed.

was also unenthusiastic about Sapru's proposals.<sup>32</sup> Jinnah rejected the proposals and warned the British against the repercussions. The British Government decided to send Sir Stafford Cripps to India in a bid to break the deadlock between the Congress and the League.<sup>33</sup> The Congress happily welcomed his appointment as he had been their ardent supporter.<sup>34</sup> The Cripps Mission arrived in India on 22 March 1942 and held discussions with political leaders of various shades of opinion. Cripps met Jinnah on 25 March<sup>35</sup> apprising him of the British Government's proposed Draft Declaration,<sup>36</sup> which envisaged grant of Dominion status for the Union of India, election of a Constituent Assembly and the option for non-acceding provinces to frame a constitution of their own. Jinnah expressed his reservations<sup>37</sup> and suggested revision of the Draft.

The League's Working Committee considered the Draft Declaration on 30 March 1942 and noted that it was aimed at compelling the Muslims to enter into a constitution-making body of one Union and a single electoral college through the system of proportional representation. Though the Draft Declaration conceded to the provinces the right of non-accession to the Union, the modalities laid down for the exercise of that right rendered the professed object nugatory. The Committee thus concluded that the Draft Declaration in its existing form was unacceptable.<sup>38</sup> The Congress Working Committee, took the principle of non-accession for the provinces as "a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity"<sup>39</sup> and as such, rejected it.

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The Provincial Muslim Leagues had been facing difficulties in Sind, NWFP, Bihar and the Central Provinces. In Sind, Allah Bakhsh had found his way back to the premiership by overthrowing Mir Bunde Ali Khan with the help of two Hindu Ministers.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>32</sup>Thomas Stewart to Marquess of Linlithgow, 27 February 1942, No. 192, TP, I, 263-4.

<sup>33</sup>Statement by Prime Minister Churchill in House of Commons, 11 March 1942, Waheed Ahmad, op.cit., II, 756-8.

<sup>34</sup>Statement by R. Stafford Cripps, 23 March 1942, No. 369, TP, I, 462-4.

<sup>35</sup>Note by R. Stafford Cripps, 25 March 1942, No. 380, ibid., 480-1.

<sup>36</sup>Draft Declaration, F. 19/13-6, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>37</sup>Revised Draft Declaration, F. 19/16, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>38</sup>Proceedings of AIML Working Committee Meeting, 27 March-11 April 1942, AFM 137/15-20, Resolution No. 2. Not printed. Also see Appendix II. 3, JP, I, Part II, 28-31.

<sup>39</sup>Proceedings of Congress Working Committee Meeting, 29 March-11 April 1942, A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, op.cit., XII, 458-61.

<sup>40</sup>Khadim Hussain Soomro, *Allah Bux Soomro: Apostle of Secular Harmony*, Sehwan Sharif, 2002, 107.



The Congress was all out for Allah Bakhsh in order to ensure that Sind did "not fall into the hands of the Muslim League."<sup>41</sup> Jinnah peremptorily urged the Provincial League leaders to organise the Muslim majority to turn the situation to their political advantage.<sup>42</sup>

In NWFP, Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan, Member of the League Working Committee and Leader of the League Party in the Provincial Assembly, regularly apprised Jinnah of political situation prevailing there. Though the League's membership in the Province had risen from 10,700 in 1939 to 32,780 in 1941,<sup>43</sup> yet it would be a long haul for Aurangzeb to form a ministry<sup>44</sup> and that too in coalition with the Akali Party.

In Bihar, the resignation of the Congress Ministry brought some relief to the Muslims. In August 1941, the Provincial Muslim League's move to observe the "Bihar Sharif Day"<sup>45</sup> to back up their demand for inquiry into anti-Muslim riots there was foiled by the ban<sup>46</sup> imposed by the Provincial administration. The Working Committee of the AIML protested to the Government of India against the "high-handed and arbitrary" treatment.<sup>47</sup>

Communal tension in the Central Provinces,<sup>48</sup> had led to a systematic repression of the Muslims.<sup>49</sup> On Gandhi hinting about the possibility of civil war, Jinnah retorted that if that ever happened, it would be only because of the Congress.<sup>50</sup> When Dr. N. B. Khare, a former premier, put out feelers about forming a coalition ministry in the province in cooperation with the Muslim League,<sup>51</sup> Jinnah advised the C. P. League Assembly party not to join any coalition where Congress or Hindu Mahasabha were not represented as no viable government could be formed without them.<sup>52</sup> The political divide among the parties thus led nowhere.

<sup>41</sup>M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah, 24 September 1941, No. 148.

<sup>42</sup>M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro, 1 October 1941, No. 166.

<sup>43</sup>Muhammad Anwar Khan, *The Role of N.W.F.P. in the Freedom Struggle*, Lahore, 2000, 163.

<sup>44</sup>George Cunningham to Marquess of Linlithgow, 24 May 1943, No. 730, TP, III, 1006.

<sup>45</sup>S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah, 5 August 1941, No. 19.

<sup>46</sup>Order by Thomas A. Stewart, 1 August 1941, Enclosure 1 to *ibid.*

<sup>47</sup>Proceedings of AIML Working Committee Meeting, 24-26 August 1941, No. 83, Resolution No. 10.

<sup>48</sup>Resolutions by Narsinghpur Muslim League Meeting, 17 May 1941, No. 402, JP, XVI, 493-4.

<sup>49</sup>Shaikh Farid & Others to M. A. Jinnah, 11 October 1941, No. 183.

<sup>50</sup>Speech by M. A. Jinnah, 2 November 1941, Waheed Ahmad, *op.cit.*, II, 320.

<sup>51</sup>N. B. Khare to M. A. Jinnah, 12 August 1941, No. 39.

<sup>52</sup>Press Report on Muslim League's Joining the Bihar Coalition, 29 June 1943, Waheed Ahmad, *op.cit.*, III, note 1, 231.



Jinnah's acumen and skill as a negotiator had been put to a test in the burgeoning confrontation between the Nizam of Hyderabad and Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung,<sup>53</sup> the leader of the Majlis-i-Ittehadul-Muslimeen. In line with his motto of Faith, Unity and Discipline, the Quaid counselled both sides to exercise restraint and helped in narrowing down the differences between them. The Nizam accepted Bahadur Yar Jung's apology<sup>54</sup> and thanked Jinnah for the "valuable help" in bringing the matter to a satisfactory conclusion.

Jinnah's suggestion regarding certain appointments in the State Cabinet,<sup>55</sup> however, did not find favour with the Nizam who suspected that such appointments would not be in his interests. He was, however, willing to seek Jinnah's support in case the British happened to consult the latter with regard to a reward for the war services rendered by Hyderabad State.<sup>56</sup>

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Jinnah's pre-eminence in politics and his reputation for honesty and integrity was such that the disadvantaged and marginalised people in India turned to him for guidance and support. The non-Brahmin Hindus of Berar, who feared domination by a handful of powerful Brahmins, looked up to Pakistan for their salvage.<sup>57</sup>

The League was equally supportive of the interests of Indian expatriates. It took notice of the discriminatory treatment to Indians in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and urged the Government of India to take prompt action in the matter.<sup>58</sup> The League Working Committee took exception to some of the proposals made by the Indo-Ceylon Exploratory Conference and demanded suitable guarantees for protection of the rights of Indians in Ceylon.<sup>59</sup> After the fall of Rangoon (now Yangon) to the Japanese in March 1942, a large number of Indians in Burma (now Myanmar), fled to India in dire straits. The condition of affectees from Java, Malaya and Singapore was equally appalling. The Muslim League, at its 29<sup>th</sup> session in Allahabad, called on its provincial and

<sup>53</sup>Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah, 29 April 1941, No. 356, *JP*, XVI, 427-8 & Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah, 14 May 1941, No. 389, *ibid.*, 474.

<sup>54</sup>Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah, 17 September 1941, No. 127.

<sup>55</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad, 13 November 1941, No. 215.

<sup>56</sup>Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah, 17 February 1942, No. 375.

<sup>57</sup>P. D. Dhole to M. A. Jinnah, 16 August 1941, No. 59.

<sup>58</sup>Proceedings of AIML Annual Session, 12-15 April 1941, *AFM* 239/111, Resolution No. 13. Not printed.

<sup>59</sup>Proceedings of AIML Working Committee Meeting, 18 November 1941, No. 232, Resolution No. 6.

local branches to render all possible assistance to the evacuees.<sup>60</sup>

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Economic condition of Muslims in majority provinces that were to constitute Pakistan was precarious in the face of predominance of Hindu businessmen and capitalists. In order to formulate plans for Muslims' socio-economic uplift, AIML at its 28<sup>th</sup> annual session at Madras, decided to set up an eight-member Planning Committee<sup>61</sup> tasked to prepare a five-year plan for educational, economic, social and political advancement of Muslims.

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In the realm of international relations, the Muslim League had remained a steadfast supporter of Muslim countries. It protested against the military occupation of Iran by the British and the Russians and demanded an end to that occupation.<sup>62</sup> The League Council later warned the Allies against any interference in the affairs of Muslim countries.<sup>63</sup> The Council also viewed "with great concern and sympathy" the expulsion of Muslim Kazakhs, from Kazakhstan in the Soviet Union. They urged the Government of India to provide for the welfare of expelled Kazakhs and devise a strategy for their settlement.<sup>64</sup>

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Following the adoption of Lahore resolution by AIML in March 1940,<sup>65</sup> the pro-Congress press, particularly *Hindustan Times* and *National Herald* had launched a media campaign<sup>66</sup> against the AIML and its leadership. In order to counter the malicious propaganda, the AIML launched the weekly *Dawn* in October 1941,<sup>67</sup> which according to Jinnah would mirror the views of Muslim India and the Muslim League on economic, educational, social and political issues.<sup>68</sup> The *Dawn* was converted into a daily<sup>69</sup> within a year and it certainly helped to counter the Congress venomous propaganda. The fledgling Muslim press<sup>70</sup> went a long way towards projecting the Muslim League's point of view and appreciably contributed to win the epic battle for Pakistan.

<sup>60</sup>Proceedings of AIML Annual Session, 3-6 April 1942, AFM 255/86, Resolution No. 5. Not printed.

<sup>61</sup>Proceedings of AIML Annual Session, 12-15 April 1941, AFM 239/108, Resolution No. 6. Not printed.

<sup>62</sup>Proceedings of AIML Working Committee Meeting, 24-26 August 1941, No. 83, Resolution No. 7.

<sup>63</sup>Proceedings of AIML Council, 26-27 October 1941, AFM 277/119, Resolution No. 6. Not printed.

<sup>64</sup>Proceedings of AIML Council, 22 February 1942, AFM 285/107, Resolution No. 5. Not printed.

<sup>65</sup>Proceedings of AIML Annual Session, 23-24 March 1940, No. 156, JP, XV, 229-30, Resolution No. 1.

<sup>66</sup>S. A. Hamid to M. A. Jinnah, 20 April 1940, No. 191, *ibid.*, 275-6.

<sup>67</sup>Hasan Reyaz to M. A. Jinnah, 2 October 1941, No. 167.

<sup>68</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Hasan Ahmad, 11 October 1941, No. 181.

<sup>69</sup>Message by M. A. Jinnah, 9 October 1942, Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *op.cit.*, III, 1614-6.

<sup>70</sup>Waheed Ahmad, *op.cit.*, II, 787-90.

# *Abbreviations*

<i>AFM</i>	<i>Archives of Freedom Movement</i>
<i>AIML</i>	<i>All India Muslim League</i>
<i>ARP</i>	<i>Air Raid Precautions</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Central Provinces</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>Executive Council</i>
<i>HH</i>	<i>His Highness</i>
<i>HM</i>	<i>His Majesty</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inspector-General</i>
<i>JP</i>	<i>Jinnah Papers</i>
<i>KB</i>	<i>Khan Bahadur</i>
<i>KS</i>	<i>Khan Sahib</i>
<i>MCS</i>	<i>Member, Council of State</i>
<i>MLA</i>	<i>Member, Legislative Assembly</i>
<i>MLC</i>	<i>Member, Legislative Council</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Member of Parliament</i>
<i>MSF</i>	<i>Muslim Students' Federation</i>
<i>NDC</i>	<i>National Defence Council</i>
<i>PBUH</i>	<i>Peace Be Upon Him</i>
<i>PML</i>	<i>Punjab Muslim League</i>
<i>PMSF</i>	<i>Punjab Muslim Students' Federation</i>
<i>PVC</i>	<i>Pro-Vice Chancellor</i>
<i>QAD</i>	<i>Quaid-i-Azam Documents</i>
<i>QAP</i>	<i>Quaid-i-Azam Papers</i>
<i>SHC</i>	<i>Shamsul Hassan Collection</i>
<i>TP</i>	<i>Transfer of Power, 1942-7</i>
<i>UP</i>	<i>United Provinces</i>

*All India Muslim League Working Committee  
August 1941—March 1942*

<i>President</i>	Mohammad Ali Jinnah
<i>Secretary</i>	Liaquat Ali Khan
	<i>Members</i>
<i>Assam</i>	Abdul Matin Chaudhury
<i>Baluchistan</i>	Qazi Mohammad Isa
<i>Bengal</i>	Khwaja Nazimuddin Mohammad Akrum Khan M. A. Hassan Ispahani <sup>1</sup>
<i>Bihar</i>	Hossain Imam S. M. Lateef-ur-Rahman
<i>Bombay</i>	Currimbhoy Ebrahim
<i>Central Provinces &amp; Berar</i>	Syed Abdur Rauf Shah
<i>Delhi</i>	Begum Maulana Mohammad Ali
<i>Madras</i>	Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait
<i>North-West Frontier Province</i>	Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan Bakht Jamal Khan
<i>Punjab</i>	Sardar Sikander Hyat Khan Nawab Shah Nawaz Mamdot Malik Barkat Ali
<i>Sind</i>	H. Abdoola Haroon G. M. Sayed
<i>United Provinces</i>	Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan (Raja of Mahmudabad) Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Ch. Khaliquzzaman

<sup>1</sup>From 13 December 1941 vice A. K. Fazlul Huq.



## *Chronology of Important Events*

### *August 1941-March 1942*

August  
1941

- 1 Jinnah deplores "ingratitude" on part of the British Government for the Muslim League support for War effort as well as as the former's cowardly policy of appeasing Hindus by ignoring Muslims in vital matters.
- 26 Muslim League Working Committee initiates disciplinary proceedings against party members who had joined Viceroy's Executive Council or National Defence Council; deplores aggression against certain Muslim countries; deprecates Amery's criticism of the Pakistan Resolution and condemns anti-Muslim disturbances.

September

- 8 Fazlul Huq resigns from both the Working Committee as well as the Council of the All India Muslim League.
- 18 Jinnah upholds Pakistan as an ultimate goal and lays stress on "faith, unity and discipline" in order to achieve that goal.

October

- 27 The League Working Committee deprecates the the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the formation of National Defence Council. The Committee also calls upon Fazlul Huq to withdraw allegations against the party. The League Council approves of the Committee's decision and deplores anti-Muslim riots in Amraoti in C.P. and Nilore in Madras Presidency.
- 28 Jinnah leads a walk out of the Muslim League party from the Central Assembly demanding a genuine share in the government as a precondition for Muslim India's support.

November

- 2 Jinnah warns that if India is pushed into civil war, it would be on account of Congress and of nobody else.
- 16 League Working Committee accepts Fazlul Huq's explanation and his assurances and decides to take no further action in the matter. The Committee urges the Viceroy to take no

future steps regarding expansion of the Executive Council or National Defence Council without the approval and consent of the League. The Committee also expresses their concern over the detention of Allama Mashriqi without trial and demands his release.

December

10 Fazlul Huq is expelled from the Muslim League as a sequel to his having joined the Progressive Coalition Party in Bengal Assembly and sworn in as Premier.

17 Commenting on the "August Offer" of 1940, Jinnah doubts if the Viceroy or the British Government desire India's unstinting co-operation; states that the Government demand implicit obedience and assistance without conceding any real voice or share in governance.

27 League Working Committee warns that any deviation from the pledges given in the "August Offer" or a fresh declaration that impinged adversely on the Pakistan demand or on the basis of the central government in India as an indivisible unit would leave the Muslims with no other option than to resist it. The Committee also expresses its readiness to shoulder the defence burden of the country on the basis of real share in and responsibility for governance at the centre and in the provinces. The Committee endorses Fazlul Huq's expulsion from the League.

30 Congress Working Committee decides to adhere to Gandhi's policy of non-violence for attainment of independence and urges Congressmen to extend full assistance, including resort to civil disobedience, for prosecution of that goal.

January  
1942

16 On reviewing the political situation in the country, the Congress decides to uphold its *satyagraha* resolution.

February

21 League Working Committee expresses deep sympathy with Muslim and other Indian sufferers in Malaya, Singapore,

Burma and elsewhere in Far East and calls upon Indian Muslims to provide relief to those evacuees.

- 22 League Council elects M. A. Jinnah as party President for the next term, condemns Fazlul Huq for playing into the hands of Hindu Mahasabha and repressing League workers and Muslim students. The Council appreciates the Government for releasing Allama Mashriqi and demands removal of restrictions on his movement.  
Non-Party Leaders' Conference demands India's constitutional position and powers to be brought on a par with other Dominions, reconstruction of the Executive Council as a truly national government with its representation in Allied War Councils and at the Peace Conference. League Working Committee regards those demands as an attempt to establish Hindu *raj* and to compel the British Government to scuttle the demand for Pakistan.
- 25 Jinnah asks the British Government not to make any declaration which would prejudice the Muslim demand for Pakistan as the only solution of India's constitutional problem.
- March  
5 Muslim League Party in Central Legislature urges Prime Minister Churchill to make no declaration which would prejudice or militate against the demand for Pakistan.
- 12 Churchill announces decision of the War Cabinet to send Sir Stafford Cripps to India to secure the assent of the majority and minority elements for the present and future constitutional arrangements.
- 23 Jinnah declares that the League would resist, to the utmost of its capacity, any British proposal detrimental to Muslim interests.
- 25 In a meeting with Cripps on the British Government Draft Declaration, Jinnah decides to lay the matter before the League Working Committee and asks that the demand for setting up of a second Dominion be made clearer in that document.



- 27 Finding the Draft Declaration to embody the fundamentals only and to be not open to any modification, the League Working Committee sees no alternative but to consider the proposals unacceptable in their present form.
- 30 British Government publish the Draft Declaration for discussion with Indian leaders. Cripps, in a broadcast, further elucidates those proposals.

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## APPENDIX I

## COMMUNALISM IN BIHAR

		<i>March 1942</i>	
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## ADDENDA

- Document No. 50  
Page 71  
*Amend footnotes to read:*  
<sup>1</sup>See F. 696/275, *QAP*. Not printed.  
<sup>2&4</sup>Not traced.
- Document No. 74  
Page 102  
In line 1 *for information read information*<sup>1</sup>  
In line 3 *for August read August*<sup>2</sup>  
In line 5 *for July*<sup>1</sup> *read July*<sup>3</sup>  
*Amend footnotes to read:*  
<sup>1</sup>No. 19.  
<sup>2</sup>See Enclosure 2 to *ibid*.  
*Renumber present footnote 1 as 3*
- Document No. 109  
Page 147  
Page 149  
In line 8 *for Conference read Conference*<sup>2</sup>  
*Insert footnote 2 to read See No. 20.*  
*Renumber present footnote 2 as 3.*
- Document No. 131  
Pages 173-4  
In line 5 *for resolution, read resolution,*<sup>2</sup>  
*Insert footnote 2 at the end to read See No. 83, Resolution 7.*
- Document No. 139  
Page 181  
Page 182  
Page 183  
Page 184  
In line 1 *for pronouncement read pronouncement*<sup>1</sup>  
In line 13 *for formula*<sup>1</sup> *read formula*<sup>2</sup>  
In line 4 from the bottom *for them*<sup>2</sup> *read them*<sup>3</sup>  
*Insert footnote 1 to read See the Civil & Military Gazette,*  
*10 September 1941.*  
*Renumber footnotes 1& 2 as footnotes 2 & 3.*
- Document No. 176  
Page 231  
In line 8 *for October read October*<sup>2</sup>  
*Insert footnote 2 to read See the Civil & Military Gazette,*  
*4 October 1941.*
- Document No. 184  
Page 240  
In line 1 *for statement read statement*<sup>3</sup>  
*Insert footnote 3 at the end to read See No. 176, note 2.*
- Document No. 188  
Page 244  
In line 6 of the Enclosure *for protest read protest*<sup>1</sup>  
*Insert footnote 1 at the end to read See No. 83, Resolution 11*
- Document No. 222  
Page 290  
In line 3 *for book read book*<sup>3</sup>  
*Insert footnote 3 at the end to read Halide' Edib,*  
*Inside India, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1937.*

## CORRIGENDA

Document No. 54 Page 76	In line 7 from the bottom <i>replace</i> full stop <i>after</i> me <i>by</i> comma and <i>Who by</i> who.
Document Nos. 128 & 135	<i>Replace</i> Huyssman <i>by</i> Huysmans.
Document No. 197 Page 257	In line 11 <i>for</i> who <i>read</i> which.
Document No. 229 Page 296	In line 3 <i>for</i> second stet <i>read</i> second's.
Document No. 280 Page 369	In line 2 under Resolution 8 <i>replace</i> was <i>by</i> is.
Document No. 288 Page 380	In line 8 from the bottom delete comma after sample and <i>replace</i> for <i>by</i> of.
Document No. 302 Page 399	In line 19 <i>delete</i> full stop <i>after</i> 'Pakistan' and <i>read</i> At as at.
Document No. 313 Page 411	In line 11 <i>for</i> note 3 <i>read</i> 5.
Document No. 337 Page 443	In footnote 3 <i>for</i> repled <i>read</i> replied.
Document No. 344 Page 452	In footnote 2 <i>replace</i> (pseudongm) <i>by</i> (pseudonym) and <i>delete</i> Not printed.
Document No. 365 Page 473	In line 5 <i>replace</i> you <i>by</i> we.
Document No. 404 Pages 524-5	In line 9 <i>for</i> note 3 <i>read</i> note 2 and <i>insert</i> footnote 2 at the end to <i>read</i> See No. 408. Under Enclosure <i>correct</i> reference number ■ F.392/61
Document No. 410 Page 532	In the last second line <i>replace</i> accept <i>by</i> except. In line 16 on Page 535 <i>replace</i> regard <i>by</i> regards
Appendix I Page 573	In line 1 of Appendix I.1 <i>delete</i> note 1 <i>after</i> pamphlet and Appendix 1.2 at the end.
Glossary Page 579	In lines 1 & 2 <i>delete</i> at the conclusion of fasting month. In line 5 <i>replace</i> Zilhij <i>by</i> Zilhaj.
Page 580	In line 17 <i>add</i> loan <i>after</i> Agricultural.
Index of Persons Page 582	In column 2 <i>read</i> Huysmans for Huyssman and <i>add</i> page numbers 400-1, 531
Page 584	In column 2 <i>against</i> Siddiki, Badruddin Ahmed <i>delete</i> page numbers 143-4

## 1

*M. I. Beg to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/59*

NAGPUR, C. P.,

*1 August 1941*

## RESOLUTION

The meeting of the Executive Council of the City Muslim League, Nagpur, held on 26th July 1941 under the presidentship of Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, MLA (Central), passed the resolution emphatically disapproving [of] the callous attitude of the British Government towards the legitimate and reasonable demands of the Muslim League and requesting Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah to put the following operative clauses of the resolution into immediate action:

- i. expulsion of such members of the League who have been nominated to the Viceroy's Executive Council and the [National] Defence Council;
- ii. resignation of all such members of the League from War and Publicity Committees;
- iii. resignation of all Muslim League members *en masse* from the Central and Provincial Legislatures; and
- iv. surrendering all Government titles, viz. Khan Bahadur, knighthood, etc., as a protest.

The resolution was passed amidst great enthusiasm and acclamation.

Further, it was resolved that the Muslims have full confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah.

M. I. BEG

*Honorary Secretary,*

*Nagpur City & District Muslim League*

## 2

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Akrum Khan*

*Telegram, F. 337/1*

*1 August 1941*

Moulana Akrum Khan, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta

Thanks your telegram<sup>1</sup> and support. Am willing accept Fazlul Huq's



word [that] he did not intend go against League policy decision. I therefore request him through you resign immediately in interest Muslim solidarity prestige this critical juncture.

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 551, JP, XVI, 701.

### 3

*M. A. Jinnah to Hassan Suhrawardy*

*Telegram, F. 457/18*

1 August 1941

Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, India Office, London

Your telegram.<sup>1</sup> Ingratitude part British Government League attitude observed hitherto. Cowardly policy pursued please Hindus. Muslims ignored in vital matters. Lord Linlithgow put lid [sic] canvassing League members over head leader executive most improper. Hold him responsible causing defection League ranks. Present scheme circumvents League demands even within framework present constitution. No honourable party can exist if discipline correct standard public life can be tampered with by outside agency. Impossible overlook vital situation affecting League organisation. It is not case slight technical lapse.

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 544, JP, XVI, 694.

### 4

*Mohammad Aziz Mirza to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/62*

MULTAN CITY,  
1 August 1941

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to enclose herewith a copy of the resolutions passed by the District Muslim League, Multan, for your kind

information and any action you [may] consider necessary.

Yours faithfully,  
MOHAMMAD AZIZ MIRZA  
*President,*  
*Multan District Muslim League*

*Enclosure*

*F. 770/63*  
*[Original in Urdu]*

MULTAN,  
31 July 1941

A special joint session of the District and City Muslim League, Multan, was held today under the presidentship of Agha Mohammad Aziz Mirza, President, District Muslim League. After a brief speech by Khan Ghulam Qadir Khan, President, City Muslim League, the following resolutions were passed:

1. This meeting of District Muslim League, Multan expresses full confidence in Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. On behalf of the Muslims of West Punjab, the District Muslim League requests Mr. Jinnah to take disciplinary action against those Muslim League members who have joined the Viceroy's Executive Council or the National Defence Council without the knowledge and permission of the Muslim League Executive Committee and the President as their action of joining any of the two Councils is against the interest of the Muslims of India.
2. It is also decided that the copies of this resolution should be sent to Muslim press [Punjab], Provincial Muslim League and Quaid-i-Azam.

MOHAMMAD AZIZ MIRZA

## 5

*Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/95*

ALIGARH,  
2 August 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan attended the meeting of the

Executive Council, held on the 27th of July, and he gave me the substance of his conversation with His Highness the Nawab of Rampur. We discussed the matter and ultimately decided ourselves, to which all the members of the Executive Council agreed, that we should not comment on the resignation of the three members and that their places should not be filled for the present. We [may] wait for further development.

The Executive Council only recorded the report of the Registrar that three members of the Executive Council had resigned. It is not obligatory to fill all the vacancies. It appears from the conversation of the Nawabzada Sahib that Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan was not willing to take any action independently of Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan and Khan Bahadur Habibullah Khan.

Yours sincerely,  
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD  
Vice-Chancellor,  
*Aligarh Muslim University*

## 6

*Mahomedali M. Narsinh to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/66*

AHMADABAD,  
3 August 1941

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith the text of the resolution of the Ahmadabad District Muslim League Committee, passed at its meeting held on 2.8.1941 under the presidentship of Saiyad Safdar Husain S. A. Bukhari, for information.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
M. M. NARSINH  
Honorary Secretary,  
*Ahmadabad District Muslim League*

*Enclosure*

*F. 770/67*

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Ahmadabad District Muslim League Committee strongly objects to the action of His Excellency the Viceroy in appointing Muslims to the Executive Council and the so-called National War [Defence] Council behind the back of the President of the All India Muslim League, and also disapproves [of] the action of such Muslims who have joined these two bodies without first consulting the President of the All India Muslim League.

This meeting reiterates its fullest confidence in the Quaid-i-Azam and his policy.

This meeting requests Quaid-i-Azam to take such disciplinary action, as may be deemed proper against those who have transgressed the policy of the Muslim League, however high they may be.

M. M. NARSINH

7

*Ch. Mohammad Din to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/69-70*

GOLF ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
3 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was surprised to find that you have given a verdict<sup>1</sup> against the members who have been appointed on the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the Defence Council of the Commander-in-Chief without moving the All India Muslim League Council.

As far as I think, your verdict is in contravention of the resolutions passed by the All India Muslim League Council. The League Council has definitely allowed the members to join the War Boards and the War Committees and to assist the successful prosecution of war in their individual capacity. The Defence Council is nothing but an All-India War Board. I don't think that any member of the League has transgressed any rule of the League by joining the Council.

Unity and organisation are the fundamental principles of the Muslim League. Such action, as is contemplated in your statement,



is bound to create a big rift in the League ranks. To save the situation, a thoughtful and calm handling is necessary. Please save the Muslim League from discord and dissension.

Yours truly,  
CH. MOHAMMAD DIN

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: United We Win*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1996, 270-2.

## 8

*Ajmal Ali Chowdhury to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/71*

KALIGHAT ROAD,  
SYLHET,  
3 August 1941

A general meeting of the Musalmans of Sylhet was held on the 3rd of August 1941 at 7.30 p.m. under the presidentship of Moulvi Abdur Rahman at Sarada Memorial Hall, and the following resolutions were unanimously carried:

### RESOLUTIONS

This meeting of the Musalmans of Sylhet expresses full faith in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the President of All India Muslim League.

This meeting requests M. A. Jinnah, the President of All India Muslim League, to take disciplinary action against those who have joined the Viceroy's Defence Council against the positive injunction of the AIML.

AJMAL ALI CHOWDHURY  
*President, Sylhet Primary Muslim League*

## 9

*Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 28/2*

4 August 1941

Quaid-i-Azam,

In the *Arzdasht* of 23rd *Jamadiul Awwal*, 1360 [A.] H.<sup>1</sup>, it has been endeavoured by the Executive Council that the unconnected

portions of my speech should be so represented that it may lead to show my disloyalty towards my ruler. I do not think it worthwhile to reply to it.

On one occasion it has been shown that in spite of His Exalted Highness' resentment I reiterated my creed. I can never take my creed back, nor it is possible for me, because it is a part of the Constitution of the Anjuman-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen and the right of changing the Constitution vests only in the general meeting of the Anjuman.

The draft apology<sup>2</sup> which has been put forward by the Government is in no way acceptable to me. The utmost that I can do is to apologize according to the attached draft.<sup>3</sup> I shall accept any amendment that you may like to make in it but I am still of opinion that you may reconsider my last letter.

The first part of the attached draft of apology is, however, quite alright and I have no objection to its publication in the gazette. But about the second part, which concerns the future line of action, I have a suggestion to make. It is this. Will it not be better if I write to you in the form of a letter and you forward it to His Exalted Highness with your covering letter saying that it is an assurance that I have given to you?

In conclusion, it is also to be considered whether I shall be able to take part in politics after having submitted this apology, and if I can, will it not be a violation of the Royal *Firman* and Regulations of *Maashdaran* and, therefore, should this *Firman* not be cancelled at once?

Yours sincerely,  
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

<sup>1-3</sup>See F. 28/6-18 & 305, QAP. Not printed.

## 10

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/100-1*

8B HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
4 August 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your telegram<sup>1</sup> this morning. Notices have been issued

to all the members informing them that the Working Committee [of the Muslim League] will meet at Bombay on the 24th of this month. A copy of the notice and the agenda is sent herewith.

I have called upon the six members of the Council to explain their conduct and to say why disciplinary action should not be taken against them as was suggested by you in your letter of the 30th July,<sup>2</sup> which I received yesterday. A copy of my letter to them is enclosed herewith for your information and I hope it is alright.

I am leaving for Mussoorie tonight and shall be there till the 18th when I shall leave for Delhi *en route* to Bombay. I intend reaching Bombay on the 23rd morning—one day before the meeting of the Working Committee. If you want me to be there earlier than the 23rd, kindly let me know at my Mussoorie address.

Delhi has had very little rain this year and is very hot. I am glad you selected Bombay for the meeting of the Working Committee.

With kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

<sup>1</sup>F. 335/215, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>No. 548, JP, XVI, 698-700.

### *Enclosure 1*

*Liaquat Ali Khan to Members, AIML Working Committee*

*F. 1092/97*

CONFIDENTIAL

DARYAGUNJ,  
DELHI,  
4 August 1941

Dear Sir,

A meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League will be held at Bombay at the residence of the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill), on Sunday, the 24th of August 1941 at 10 a.m.

In view of the importance of the matters to be considered at the meeting, I am to request you to kindly attend without fail.

### AGENDA

1. To consider the general political situation in the country.
2. To take disciplinary action against Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Begum Shah Nawaz Khan, Sir Ahmad Said Khan [Chhatari],

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Sir Sultan Ahmad, and Sir Mohammad Saadulla, members of the Council of the All India Muslim League, for their associating, without reference to the President or the Executive of the organization, with the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council and thus violating the decision of the All India Muslim League and acting in contravention of the general policy of the League.

3. To consider the communal situation with reference to the communal riots that have taken place recently.
4. To pass the budget for the year 1941-1942.
5. To consider the question of starting an English weekly.

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN  
*Honorary Secretary,  
All India Muslim League*

*Enclosure 2*

*Liaquat Ali Khan to Sikander Hyat Khan & Five Others*

*F. 1092/98*

REGISTERED

DARYAGUNJ,  
DELHI,  
4 August 1941

Dear Sir,

It is proposed that in order to maintain and secure discipline in the organisation and correct standard of public life, disciplinary action should be taken against you by the Working Committee, for you, while you were a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League, have associated with the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council, without reference to the President or the Executive of the organisation and contrary to the express decision of the Muslim League and its general policy. You have thereby violated the decision of the All India Muslim League and have acted in contravention of the general policy of the League.

If you wish to say anything in your defence, either in person or in writing, the fullest opportunity will be afforded to you before any decision is taken against you.

Please, therefore, let me have what you have to say in your



defence within ten days of the receipt of this intimation. In default of this, the Working Committee will have to proceed against you *ex-parte*.

Yours faithfully,  
NAWABZADA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN  
*Honorary Secretary,  
All India Muslim League*

## 11

*Zaigham Hussain to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/120-1*

BAR ASSOCIATION,  
LUDHIANA,  
4 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have full confidence in your statesmanship. But after going through your recent statement about disciplinary action against the Premiers [of the Punjab, Assam and Bengal], I fear a permanent rift in the [Muslim] League ranks, which is bound to weaken the League. Please save the situation. The Punjab Muslims have been lending great support to the prosecution of war. A large number of the Punjab Muslims have joined the army. They cannot afford to non-co-operate with the Government regarding the war. In the Punjab, the motive to join the army is to help the Govt. on [the] one hand and to get pecuniary benefit on the other hand. In the Punjab, about Rs.4 crore have been spent in the form of military pensions and the Muslims get the major portion. Here in the Punjab, the competition is with the Sikhs who, in spite of [being] 12 per cent of the population, have got 20 per cent of representation in the services on account of the military services. Therefore, in order to protect the military interests of the Muslims, the high Muslim officials must co-operate with the Govt. at this moment.

The Muslim Premiers wield a great influence in their respective provinces. Please don't be led by the mischief-mongers of the

Punjab, who have prejudiced you by sending telegrams at the expense of one man only.

I am,

Your most sincere and faithful servant,

ZAIGHAM HUSSAIN  
*Municipal Commissioner*

## 12

*Syed Abdur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/72-3*

CONFIDENTIAL

61 DHARMARAJA KOIL STREET,  
BANGALORE,  
4 August 1941

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to invite [your] kind reference to our conversation on the 19th May 1941 at Bangalore regarding the double part played by persons like Mr. Fazlul Huq and Sir Sikander Hyat contrary to the policy of the Muslim League. Perhaps you may remember that some of us here had suggested to you that such misleaders [*sic*] of the League should be immediately thrown out, specially in view of the fact that they neither represent the true Muslim opinion nor does the community recognise them as their real representatives—particularly since the commencement of their double game. The fact is that you have tolerated such tendencies a bit too long and because you were not prepared to take any disciplinary action against such things [persons], the Musalmans thought that it was perhaps not the proper course to follow to urge upon you the need for taking some suitable action. We definitely knew that the League would suffer many reverses under such faltering leadership and it is no wonder that it has made Mr. Amery bold enough to make that speech in the House of Commons. I do not think that we can blame Mr. Amery for that. We are ourselves to blame for it because it is our so-called leaders like Sir Sikander, Mr. Fazlul Huq and others who have strengthened his hands by playing the treacherous part, so well known to the whole of Muslim India. We, Aligarh men, knew what part these gentlemen were going to play in the life of our country and community. We were of opinion long long ago that the League has

in it a section of the people who will be mere creatures of circumstances and who will always dance to the tune of their masters as and when it suits them. When they see that their interests are best served, then they espouse the cause of the Muslim League, they remain there and appear before the public as the greatest champions of the Muslim cause, and again when they see that their interests are still better served by remaining in the other camp, they do so at the expense of their community and its organisation—the League.

All of us here think that the League should let these gentlemen alone. There are others in the Muslim community to whom personal interests are not dearer than Islam and God. There are men who are prepared to sacrifice their very lives for the cause of the League. The interests of the League could be better served [by them] than by these half-hearted leaders and time-servers. You have the solid backing of the ninety millions of Muslims who consider your word next to *Shariat*, barring only a negligible few. At a mere signal from you they know what to do with their lives and their property. When such is their faith and when such is the confidence they have in your unparalleled, unequalled and unquestioned leadership, nothing can prevent you from taking the necessary action against the deserters of the League. All vernacular papers in India and all the Provincial Muslim Leagues have condemned the action of these gentlemen. Your hands are already strengthened. The Muslim India is waiting to see how you propose to deal with those people who have forsaken us in this hour of trial.

With the greatest respect,

I remain,

Yours respectfully,  
SYED ABDUR RAHMAN  
B.A., LL.B. (Alig.)

*ex-Vice-President, Aligarh Muslim University Union*

## 13

*President, Gorakhpur City Muslim League to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/74*

GORAKHPUR,  
4 August 1941

## RESOLUTION

The City Muslim League Council in its meeting, dated August 2, 1941, has passed the following resolution:

Resolved that this Council of the City Muslim League, Gorakhpur, disapproves of the action of such members of the All India Muslim League who have accepted the membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the All-India Defence Council and fully supports the views of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in this respect.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

*President,  
Gorakhpur City Muslim League*

## 14

*Mohammad Yousuf to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/75-7*

CONFIDENTIAL/IMPORTANT

URDU KOTHI,  
JAUNPORE,  
4 August 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been pained to see that the prestige of the [Muslim] League has been affected by the selfishness and treachery of those whom you know well and who combined to outmanoeuvre you and the League by deceiving the Viceroy in collaboration with the non-party leaders who met at Poona. The question of disciplinary action being taken is a vital question which you will have to consider in proper perspective in relation to the best interest of the League with special reference to the possibilities of the League's future strength and weakness. That these people have betrayed you and the League



cannot be in doubt. The only question to be decided is whether the Premiers of the majority provinces should be dealt with similarly as any other member of the League. Mr. [Fazlul] Huq has put in a plea which has undoubtedly a plausibility about it which, I think, has been recognized by the public not excluding the League members, although any action taken against them by you will be loyally accepted by all the Muslim Leaguers. Under the circumstances, I will venture to say that their case should be put on a different level in view of the individual co-operation allowed by you. They can plead that they had freedom to join the Defence Council though not the membership of the Viceroy's Council, and they felt that no permission from you was necessary. Thus, you have to decide whether disciplinary action is called for on the issue of the Premiers joining the Defence Council without your permission. They can reasonably say that as Premiers they should have freedom to co-operate with the British Government without reference to you, except on vital questions such as the policies laid down by the League and special warning with regard to particular things important enough to be warned against by you. So far as other members of the Defence Council are concerned, the least they should have done was to inform you about it. Disciplinary action against members other than Premiers may be taken on the issue of joining the Council, although even [*sic*] they put in a plea that they were under the impression that they could join the Provincial War Boards. Therefore, bearing in mind the totality of the circumstances the question is what disciplinary action and how should it be taken against the men concerned? I will make bold to say that disciplinary action on this issue should be taken by you after giving very serious consideration as these people should not be allowed to make out that they are victims of persecution. If they are to be punished they should be punished on the issue of disloyalty and intrigue against you and the League. I extremely regret that I did not go to Simla because I felt that you did not like the idea of my hanging about in Simla in the official circles. But I find that the activities of these people, I have check-mated so far, have succeeded in collaboration with the non-party Hindu leaders. The other viewpoint, namely the League viewpoint, presented forcibly and convincingly from the point of view of the British Government themselves have been completely absent from their mind. I alone had the honour of doing that in the Government circles to counteract organised activities against you and the League. So far as temporary and interim arrangement is concerned, you have won all along the line and I shall make bold to say that I

have done all I could to achieve your object and carry out your policies. But as luck would have it, a very serious decision had been taken by the Government in view of the deadlock, namely that organizations such as the Congress and the League alone shall not have the monopoly of the privilege and right to dictate to the Government and that other geographical and administrative units should also have a voice along with the organizations and the parties. There is a plausibility about it as a detached viewpoint of the Government. But the question is why did the Government not consult you with regard to the Muslim personnel of the Viceroy's Council when it had practically met your demand? It is here that the Viceroy has committed that mistake due to subtle and insidious arguments of the Hindu leaders and those Muslims who have been systematically undermining the League and have always tried to create misunderstanding between you and the Viceroy. There was nobody to raise his voice to counteract the organized work of these people at Simla. The strength of the Congress lies in the fact that there are supporters of the Congress both inside and outside the Government who are always active and alert. Even the non-Congress men always support the Congress on main issues directly or indirectly. And here lies the weakness of the League though, no doubt, things have considerably improved.

I am sorry I have inflicted a lengthy letter on you but I hope you will kindly spare time to glance through it as the viewpoints, given by me in this letter, have a vital bearing on your position as our leader and the future position of the League which must be regarded as of paramount and vital importance at this moment.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD YOUSUF  
*Knight*

## 15

*Mohammad Abdussattar Khan Niazi to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

1 SULEIMAN BUILDINGS,  
DIL MOHAMMAD ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
4 August 1941

Quaid-i-Azam,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th July 1941.<sup>2</sup> Your appreciation of our point of view and efforts is an inspiration to us. We keenly wait [for] the day when we will be able to open our hearts before you.

Meanwhile, I resume the story of our struggle from where I left it on the 23rd of July 1941.<sup>3</sup> On that very day I left for Rawalpindi. Two grand public meetings were held there in the City and in the Cantonment on the 24th and the 25th, respectively, in support of your first statement after the expansion of Viceroy's Council. You will see the details of the meeting and the resolution passed there in the accompanying cutting from the daily *Zamindar*.<sup>4</sup>

Thereafter, I returned to Lahore. As you will see from a cutting of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, dated 30.7.1941,<sup>5</sup> a part of the so-called Muslim press of the Punjab had turned hostile to you immediately after your condemnation of Sir Sikander [Hyat Khan]. Our reaction to this treachery was both energetic and in time. You can see the details from the accompanying cuttings of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, dated 31.7.1941, the *Eastern Times* and the daily *Ihsan*.<sup>6</sup> Our exertions have not proved fruitless. One of the delinquent papers has already approached us and is giving assurances that it would support Quaid-i-Azam in any action he might take against the evil genius of the Punjab.

On the 1st of August 1941, I went to Amritsar. A well-attended meeting was held in the Khairuddin Mosque, and your second statement in which you have clearly named the traitors was strongly supported. Details and resolutions [are] in the accompanying cutting of the daily *Shahbaz*.<sup>7</sup>

Quaid-i-Azam! I assure you that if you once remove all incurable excrescences from the organism of the *millat*, then (and only then) healthy youth will come out and things will take a turn that may fulfil our wildest dreams.



New models cannot be turned out from old machines and new ideas cannot be accomplished by old fogies. New situations demand new methods. Of course, the link with the past cannot be abruptly broken. But anyhow the pull must be onwards and not backwards.

We are happy that in your person we have got ■ leader who knows the innate desires of the youth of his nation and has the courage to deal with the traitors.

Yours truly,  
MOHAMMAD ABDUSSATTAR KHAN NIAZI  
M. A.  
Secretary,  
Rural Propaganda Committee,  
Punjab Muslim Students' Federation

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, ed., *Letters to Quaid-i-Azam 1936-41*, Karachi, 1998, 275-7.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah had congratulated him on the success of Lyallpur Conference and invited some Punjab students to meet him. See F. 393/10, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>No. 527, JP, XVI, 669-71.

<sup>4</sup>Not traced.

## 16

*M. A. Jinnah to Khan of Kalat*

F. 699/3

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
4 August 1941

Your Highness,

Many thanks for your letter of the 29th of July 1941.<sup>1</sup>

Yes, I am very keen myself to come to Baluchistan, but one thing or the other comes in the way of my desire being fulfilled.

I have seen the papers and I have given my views to Mr. [Qazi Moham-mad] Isa. I need hardly tell you that all my good wishes are with you and I shall be only too glad to help you in anyway I can.

I was not well, but I am much better now. I am staying here for a few days and thereafter I am returning to Bombay.

With very kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself to Your Highness,

Yours very sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.



17

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Rahman**F. 420/1*HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
5 August 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th July 1941<sup>1</sup> and beg to inform you that so far as the matter of disciplinary action is concerned, ordinarily the power is vested in the Working Committee subject to appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League. Besides, special meeting of the Council cannot be called except on a written requisition which should be addressed to the Secretary, who has got the power to initiate call[ing] a meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League. But I may inform you that a meeting of the Working Committee has already been called for the purpose of taking disciplinary action against those members of the Muslim League who have associated themselves with the scheme of expansion of Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH<sup>1</sup>F. 770/51, QAP. Not printed.

18

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan**F. 383/97*HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
5 August 1941

My dear Amir,

I am sorry I was not able to reply to your letter of the 15th of July<sup>1</sup> earlier as I was indisposed. But I am quite alright now.

Personally I really do not see how you can co-opt persons who do not belong to, and who are not members of, the All India Muslim League organization. You may take their advice. Specially, I was

rather surprised to hear from you the suggestion of the name of Dr. Zakir Hussain, knowing as we do how he stands.

I am here for a few days and it has been decided to take disciplinary action against those members of the Muslim League who have associated themselves with the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council. I have already accepted the suggestion of the Secretary of the All India Muslim League to call a meeting of the Working Committee on the 24th of August in Bombay and, of course, I shall be looking forward to meet[ing] you and I hope that you will attend the meeting without fail as it is of a great importance.

Hoping you are well, with love,

Yours affectionately,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See No. 508, JP, XVI, 641-2.

## 19

*S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 304/105-6*

ISMAIL MANZIL, PATNA CITY,  
5 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In continuation of my letter, dated the 27th of July 1941,<sup>1</sup> with enclosure, despatched to your Bombay address, I am to inform you further that the Government of Bihar, as previously reported by me, have on the 1st of August 1941, promulgated an order under sub-rule 1 of Rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules and prohibited the holding of any meeting in the whole of the Province in connection with the communal disturbances in the Districts of Patna and Gaya, which occurred during May 1941.

I have already referred the matter to you for your information and guidance. Now that a notification has been issued, the copy of which is enclosed herewith along with the copy of the resolutions passed at the emergent meeting of the Provincial [Muslim League] Working Committee, held on the 3rd of August 1941. The resolutions passed by our Working Committee are self-contained and fully expressive. In the circumstances we cannot hold any meeting nor can we observe

Bihar Sharif Day on the 15th August 1941 for that will contravene and violate the ban imposed. No such power of resistance of an order of local Government rests with the Provincial Working Committee. Such power, if and when necessary, was given to the All India Working Committee by a resolution passed at the annual session of the All India Muslim League held at Patna in December, 1938.

The copies of all the resolutions passed by the Working Committee on the 6th and the 20th July 1941, respectively, have already been sent to you by the Provincial Secretary. I regret the Government has entirely misunderstood the intention of the Provincial Working Committee. Our only desire was to legitimately and constitutionally protest against the decision of the Government in refusing to set up a special tribunal for the trial of persons accused in Bihar Sub-Divisional communal riots under Section 9 of the Defence of India Act, 1939. The copy of the memorandum, which we had submitted to H. E. the Governor, fully gave reasons for the justness of our demands and our suspicion against the jury trial system. The Government suspects that the observance of the Bihar Sharif Day may create feelings of further embitterment; therefore, they have issued this promulgation. There is a strong feeling of resentment amongst the Muslim Leaguers of Bihar against this order of the Government. Since the matter involves question of principle and discipline, the Provincial Working Committee have rightly decided to refer the whole matter to you and to the All India Muslim League Working Committee for such instruction and guidance as may be necessary. Meanwhile, the idea of observing the Bihar Sharif Day on the 15th of August, 1941, is suspended. Instruction is, therefore, solicited as to what are we to do in the circumstances. An early reply is solicited.

Yours sincerely,

ISMAIL

[President,

*Bihar Provincial Muslim League]*

*Enclosure 1**F. 304/109*

GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR,  
POLITICAL DEPARTMENT,  
RANCHI,

*1 August 1941*

## ORDER

No. 2853C-213/41: In exercise of the power conferred by sub-rule (1) of Rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules, the Government of Bihar is pleased to prohibit, within the whole of the Province of Bihar, the holding or taking part in any public procession, meeting or assembly held in connection with the communal disturbances which occurred in the Districts of Patna and Gaya in May 1941.

By order of the Governor of Bihar,

Y.A. GODBOLE

*Chief Secretary to Government of Bihar*

*Enclosure 2**F. 304/107*

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE  
BIHAR PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE

*3 August 1941*

Whereas the meeting of the Working Committee of Bihar Provincial Muslim League, held on the 20th July 1941, had passed a resolution to observe a Bihar Sharif Day on the 15th August, 1941, and since in its communique, dated the 1st August, 1941, the Bihar Government has banned all the meetings in the Province in connection with the communal riots in the Bihar Sub-Division and has thus left no room for the Musalmans to observe the Bihar Sharif Day on Friday, the 15th August, 1941, except to do so in contravention of the Defence of India Rules of 1939, which will be simply regarded as taking direct action by the Muslim League against the Government, and whereas the power to advise direct action rests with the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League as per resolution passed in the open session of the All India Muslim League in December 1938. Therefore, this Committee hereby refers the matter to Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, for advice and guidance, and in the meanwhile, directs all the branches of the Muslim League in the Province to drop the matter and not to observe the Bihar Sharif Day



for the present till directed and advised otherwise by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

2. This meeting of the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League reiterates once again [*sic*] its implicit faith and confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah and reassures him of the unflinching loyalty and devotion of the Muslims of Bihar.

3. Resolved that the Muslim League Week be observed throughout the Province of Bihar to enrol members of the Muslim League from the 5th of September, 1941 and to request all the branches of the Muslim League to intensify their activities in that direction during that period.

## 20

*S. A. Bux to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/122-3*

DAIRATUL ISLAM,  
CHANNAPATNA,  
5 August 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have studied with unusual attention the proceedings of the Non-Parties Conference, Poona session.<sup>1</sup> I was not at all surprised to note that everyone of them has waxed eloquent about the Hindu-Muslim unity, while there are other problems of vital importance to claim their attention. But I was highly surprised and it pained me no little to see that a man like Sir Mirza [Mohammad Ismail] is labouring under the same delusion. I have a very high regard for him. I had told you in Delhi that I was just keeping my eyes wide open and had not decided upon a political creed for myself. After the tour I can say now, with certainty, that the Hindu-Muslim unity is no more than a farce. Here are two very interesting incidents of my tour, which may interest you and, besides, give you an idea as to why I have come to this conclusion.

While we were at Simla, a responsible Congress member of the Central Assembly was staying in the room next to ours. He would talk very fast and loudly about the Hindu-Muslim unity. Under the influence of his enthusiastic talk, I began to look suspiciously at the activities of the Muslim League. I mistook the *khaddar*-clad devil

for an 'angel'. One day, I started from the hotel to meet Sir Mohamed Yakub, but when I rang him up from the office of the hotel, I was told that Sir Mohamed Yakub was out. I returned to my room and sat thinking. The 'angel', who was playing bridge and was separated from me by a wooden partition, picked up a quarrel with his partner and said in a fit of anger that he was acting more meanly than even a Muslim would act. I was stunned. The devil had shed the veil unconsciously.

Another incident happened in the train that lifted the curtain off my eyes. I was smoking. A fellow passenger, another *khaddar*-clad 'angel', asked me for a matchstick. The only matchstick in the box was extinguished by the drought. Apologetically, I offered the stump to light his cigarette with. He was horrified and refused. The meaning was too clear.

Subsequently, I have found the gulf to be wider than I could ever have imagined. I am, now, quite confident that all talk of Hindu-Muslim unity is a clever trick to keep us [away] from attaining a free India in which the Muslims could have equal rights, while these same 'angels' would welcome a Hindu India, in which the Muslims could be allowed to exist as a fifth class of the Hindus. The clans, who have been living in watertight chambers for centuries, cannot possibly conceive the idea of a united India with equal rights for all.

I hope that you will appreciate the decision at which I have arrived at the end. May God lift the curtain off the eyes, likewise, of all my Muslim brethren. *Aameen!*

Yours fraternally,  
S. A. BUX

<sup>1</sup>O. P. Ralhan, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Political Parties: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh*, Vol. 32, New Delhi, 1997, 735-57.

## 21

*M. I. Azad Ansari to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/84-6*  
[Original in Urdu]  
[Extract]

MALEGAON,  
5 August 1941

Respected Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

Hope you are well. Your threat of disciplinary action against

Mr. Fazlul Huq and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premiers of Bengal and the Punjab, for joining the War Council, published in several newspapers, has drawn the attention of numerous patriotic Muslims, including myself. The political circles in India, including the nationalists, are keenly expecting positive results. These personalities, particularly Sikander Hyat, have always acted against the interest of the Muslims and no good is expected of Fazlul Huq and Saadulla either.

Do you expect that they would ever sacrifice their interest for the sake of the Muslims? Not at all! No title-holder has the courage to challenge a Governor or the Viceroy or go against their bidding. Did not Sikander and Fazlul Huq betray the Muslims during the 1936 [1937] elections? The mistake of readmitting them to the Muslim League, and that too by an experienced leader, would do great harm to the cause of Islam and India.

It is no good blaming the Viceroy for doing what he considered best in the interest of his regime. In fact, the fault lies with us. The weak organisational structure of the Muslim League has led us to this unfortunate situation. It is ironical that people like Sikander and Fazlul Huq are members of the Muslim League Working Committee. They might leave the organisation anytime.

By and large, people of this undesirable character are in control of the affairs of Muslim League throughout the country. They will not render any sacrifice whenever required of them. The poor would lay down their lives for independence as they know its worth. The Congress is dominated by Hindu capitalists while the Muslim League is under the strong influence of pro-Government and rich elite. Disappointed at the prevailing situation in the Muslim League, loyal members have either withdrawn from politics or joined the Congress.

It is my humble submission that if you want to make the Muslim League a real people's party, then purge it of Sikander, and open the doors for the nationalists to join it, this will create tremors in the corridors of the British empire.

Respected Quaid-i-Azam! You are the only leader who will steer the ship of Muslims of India to their cherished destination.

I shall be obliged for a reply.

Your admirer,  
AZAD ANSARI  
*Municipal Councillor*

## 22

*M. A. Jinnah to Nazir Ahmad Chaudhry*

*F. 250/4*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
5 August 1941

Dear Moulana Nazir Ahmad,

Very many thanks for your letter of the 26th of July.<sup>1</sup> Yes, Raghib Ahsan had sent me your statement together with the resolution of the Calcutta Muslim League and I am glad that Bengal is solidly behind us. I have also noted your views. It was very good of you to give me all the information.

As regards the question what you should do at the annual conference of the Bengal League, which is fixed for the 13th and 14th of September, I cannot advise you at present. The meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, which has the power to take disciplinary action ordinarily, has been summoned on the 24th of August 1941. There will be plenty of time after the matter has been decided and I will let you know then.

Thanking you; with kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Moulana Nazir Ahmad Chaudhry,  
Calcutta

<sup>1</sup>No. 536, JP, XVI, 681.

## 23

*Nazir Ahmad Chaudhry to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/124-5*

4/1 HYAT KHAN LANE,  
CALCUTTA,  
6 August 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu*

I have been following you since 1917 Besant Congress<sup>1</sup> and Mohammad



Ali (vacant chair) League.<sup>2</sup> Since then I have never troubled you by writing this or that. But circumstances compel me to trouble you very often now. Hope to be excused.

Since I sent you the last letter, there have been developments in various directions. I think Moulana Akrum Khan has misled you and he has been befooled by Fazlul Huq. The former went to the latter with your telegram<sup>3</sup> to persuade him but without success. Your telegram has been published in the Hindu press here to show that you have climbed down. Your telegram has also influenced public opinion to some extent. So much so that the students' meeting on the 2nd August has passed a resolution asking you and Fazlul Huq to make a compromise contrary to the object advertised. The meeting was advertised to support Jinnah and Central League.

But Fazlul Huq is not sitting idle. It is understood one Badruddoja, MLA (Bengal) has been entrusted with organising the Muslim students in Bengal; other propaganda is also going on. Fazlul Huq has fully surrendered to the Congress in the Assembly. There are two controversial Bills before the Assembly for discussion, i.e. (1) Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill. (2) Bengal Secondary Education Bill. After two days' uproarious sitting, the former was sent back again to the Select Committee by extraordinary zeal and effort of Fazlul Huq. I do not know what will be the fate of the latter—Secondary Education Bill. Whatever Fazlul Huq is doing, he is doing to placate the Hindus. Mr. [Huseyn] Shaheed [Suhrawardy] has been ill these days. Akrum Khan Sahib has left for his Madhupur (Santhal Parganas) residence. Raghib [Ahsan] is now an employee of the Corporation. However, I am working on to counteract Fazlul Huq and his associates' anti-League activity in my humble capacity [along]with other workers.

Now the vital question is what is to be done about the Bengal Provincial League. I think at any rate, you will have to appoint an ad hoc committee as soon as you punish Mr. Fazlul Huq. So we need not try to oust him or other Ministers during the election because the task is not [an] easy one. There are 120 ex-officio members of the Council of the Bengal League. With a small number of regular members, Fazlul Huq may win. So far as I understand, majority of the members of the legislature will follow him. But so far [as] District Leagues are

concerned, I hope Fazlul Huq cannot capture them. Some of them have already given their verdict against him.

Anxiously awaiting your kind reply,

Yours affectionately,  
NAZIR AHMAD CHAUDHRY

PS. In my previous letter, I had informed you that the Annual Conference of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League had been fixed for 13th and 14th September when the election [of its] office-bearers and the Working Committee would take place.

<sup>1&2</sup>Annie Besant, an Irish lady (1847-1933), had formed Indian Home Rule League in 1915. She presided at the Calcutta session of Congress in December 1917. The annual session of the Muslim League also held in Calcutta, was to have been chaired by Moulana Mohammad Ali but his chair remained empty throughout the session as he was then under house arrest with his brother Moulana Shaukat Ali.

<sup>3</sup>No. 2.

## 24

*Allahyar Daultana to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 255/30-1*

FAIR-HOPE,  
MURREE,  
6 August 1941

My dear and respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you have received my telegrams in which I had expressed my own views as well as views of my constituency.

I most sincerely apologise for the liberty taken but, having the Muslim interest in view, I had no other alternative but the action taken, which, I hope, you will please appreciate.

If you decide to turn out of the [Muslim] League the members that are also the members of the National Defence Council, there would be two alternatives open to those members: either to remain out of the League or to resign from the NDC and provincial cabinets. What would be the after-effects of these?

If they remain out of the League, the disruption of it would be a very great setback to the Muslim cause, perhaps an irreparable loss.

Losing solidarity of the community is one thing which should be avoided at any cost. Having given permission to individuals to associate with the War Committees and other war activities, it does not sound logical to take action against those who have agreed to the membership of the NDC, which is nothing but a bigger and all-India War Committee.

In case they decide to vacate the offices they hold in the Provincial Governments, the result would be no better than in the first case. So whatever action they take would be very injurious to Muslim cause, which under the circumstances you are destined to protect.

With these gentlemen out of the League, one can easily foresee the future of Muslim League in the Punjab, Bengal and Assam. At such a critical juncture wisdom does not lie in taking drastic action but the wisdom would be in averting the crisis.

Having full faith in your wisdom and statesmanship, we all are sure that you will find some way out and the crisis would be averted. Our future is in the solidarity of the community and I most sincerely request you to kindly preserve it.

With apologies for the liberty, I have taken,

Yours sincerely from the core of heart,

ALLAHYAR DAULTANA  
MLA

## 25

*Shah Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

URGENT

MAMDOT VILLA,  
DAVIES ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
7 August 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The Lahore City Urban Constituency has become vacant because the member representing it (Mr. K.L. Gauba) has been declared by the High Court to be an insolvent. The by-election in this constituency is expected to be held in September. As several individuals were getting busy, canvassing the support of voters, I thought it necessary to give a warning to the Muslim voters that the Muslim League will put up

a candidate to contest the by-election and that they should, therefore, keep their votes in reserve for the Muslim League candidate.

Since my above announcement in the local press, four candidates have, up to this time, applied to me for Muslim League ticket, and a meeting of the Provincial Parliamentary Board, which consists of all the members of the Provincial Muslim League Working Committee, has been fixed for the 17th of August to select a suitable candidate from among all the applicants.

Our effort naturally is to select such a person who may be popular among the Muslim masses and whose loyalty with the Muslim League may be established by his past career. This is very essential to ensure the prestige of the Muslim League and every care will be taken to select one whose success also may be sure and certain against other candidates. I look to you for your support and shall be very much obliged if you will kindly issue a statement in the press advising the voters of this constituency to give their whole-hearted support to the Muslim League candidate, to be nominated by the Provincial Parliamentary Board. If you will kindly send a copy of the same to me also, I will have it published in the local papers.

I have not been keeping good health during the past two months but have now improved considerably and hope to meet you at Bombay on 24th instant, and will have personal talk regarding other important matters also.

Yours sincerely,  
SHAH NAWAZ KHAN

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters 1936-41*, 278-9.

## 26

*Mohammad Akrum Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 337/3

AZAD MANZIL,  
PATHAR CHAPTE ROAD,  
MADHUPUR, (SANTHAL PARGANAS),  
7 August 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am not in a position to express my overwhelming sense of shame



and sorrow for the blunder which I have committed—and committed sincerely. It was the weakness of my sentimentalism about the Muslim solidarity, especially at this critical juncture, [which] prompted me to negotiate with and rely on the words of a notoriously unreliable man. I was befooled, trapped and utilized against my leader and nation.

Dear Mr. Jinnah, will you excuse me?

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD AKRUM KHAN

## 27

### *Proceedings of Noakhali District Muslim League Meeting*

F. 770/89  
[Extract]

NOAKHALI,  
8 August 1941

Considered the views of Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup> on the proposals of the Sapru Conference held in Bombay and the situation arising out of the appointment of some Muslim League members to the Viceroy's so-called Defence Council and the expanded Executive Council.

Resolved that this meeting of the District Muslim League emphatically denounces the proposals of the Sapru Conference and accepts and agrees without reservation, with the views of the Quaid-i-Azam on the subject and records its full confidence in his leadership.

This meeting further urges upon Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq and other Muslim League members to abide by the decision of the All India Muslim League and the President, Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah on all matters concerning any change in the Provincial and Central administration.

MAJIBUR RAHMAN  
Secretary,  
*Noakhali District Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 273-6.

## 28

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Abdussattar Khan Niazi*

F. 393/11

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
8 August 1941

Dear Mr. Niazi,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th of August 1941<sup>1</sup> and the press cutting. I thank you very much for all the information you have given me. Your suggestions will certainly receive my very careful consideration and I assure you that I shall be guided by only one consideration and no other and that is our cause and the interest of the Musalmans.

I am glad that you young men are doing good work by your rural propaganda and also are following the events and developments with very keen understanding.

I am sure we shall win in spite of all the difficulties.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 15.

## 29

*Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

19 TEMPLE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
8 August 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have received the intimation about the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee to be held at Bombay on 24th August and hope to join it.

In the meantime, it is necessary to apprise you of the situation in the Province. The various parts of the Province are vying with each other in their declaration of the fullest faith in you and their desire to

see that the Muslim League is purged of its traitors. In this connection, the greatest credit must go to the members of the Muslim Students' Federation who have virtually dedicated themselves to this service and in particular to their leader, Mr. Abdussattar Khan Niazi. I am glad that at ■ time when I thought that I would be single-handed, there has sprung up an army of workers. The Provincial Muslim League is utterly dead, being under the control of the Premier of the Punjab. When the question of amending the constitution of the Provincial League was raised so as to bring it in line with the Madras Constitution, the matter was shelved as unnecessary. At the present moment, the seat in the City of Lahore filled by Mr. [K. L.] Gauba has fallen vacant and a Unionist follower of Sir Sikander [Hyat Khan] is bound to be put up in the name of the League. The Muslim Students' Federation are feeling very restive and say they cannot allow such ■ situation. I entirely agree with them and feel that it will be ■ tragedy if Sir Sikander gets his nominee returned from this great City in the name of the League. The Muslims of the City are anti-Unionists and in order to silence their opposition the name of the League will be used. My position is a most anomalous one. While I desire to see ■ true Leaguer returned, I cannot act directly or indirectly because the official League organisation is in the hands of Sir Sikander. I have no doubt that anybody whom you bless with your approval will be easily returned. The Muslim Students' Federation are probably waiting on you in a deputation with some such purpose. They wanted me to join the deputation but I have told them that as a member of the Working Committee and also a member of the Provincial League, I cannot act against the mandate of the Provincial League, howsoever repulsive and distasteful.

It is understood here that Sir Sikander is arranging a meeting of the Unionist Party to get from them a mandate of approval of his policy and to use this vote of confidence as his ground for resigning from the League. He is in this way forestalling the action which the Working Committee might take against him. My own view is that this open violation of the League mandate by Sir Sikander and others must be punished and the League purged of such elements. Of course, if any Muslim Premier resigns the membership of the Defence Council in obedience to the League mandate, I will not touch him as his conduct would be the best vindication of the authority of the League. It is being stated in the local press that Sir Sikander will not budge an inch from his position. The local Muslim press

is receiving ■ sum of about Rs. 25,000 a year and naturally dances to its [sic for his] tune. But this should not deter us. My own idea is that the League will come out the stronger after this ordeal, but please see that the name of the League is not used in future by Sir Sikander for getting his nominee returned from the urban areas. The truth is that the present Provincial League should be disbanded. More when I come to Bombay.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. BARKAT ALI  
*Advocate; MLA*

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters 1936-41*, 280-82.

## 30

*Liaquat Ali Khan to Sikander Hyat Khan & Others*

*F. 1092/102*

REGISTERED/A.D.

DARYAGUNJ,  
DELHI,  
8 August 1941

Dear Sir,

In continuation of my registered letter of the 4th of August,<sup>1</sup> I beg to inform you that if you should desire to give your explanation in person before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, it will be glad to hear you on Sunday, the 24th instant, at Bombay at the residence of the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, (Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill) at 11 a.m.

Yours faithfully,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN  
*Honorary Secretary, AIML*

To

1. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Simla
2. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Calcutta
3. Sir Mohammad Saadulla, Shillong
4. Sir Sultan Ahmad, Patna
5. Sir Ahmad Said Khan of Chhatari
6. Begum [Jahan Ara] Shah Nawaz, Lahore

<sup>1</sup>Enclosure 2 to No. 10.



## 31

*M. A. Jinnah to Sultan Ahmad*

*F. 874/170-1*

*9 August 1941*

Dear Sir,

I regret to find from the communique, issued by the Govt. of India dated the 21st of July 1941,<sup>1</sup> that you have accepted the Viceroy's nomination on the Executive Council and thereby have associated yourself with the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the National Defence Council. The scheme is far more reactionary and retrograde than the one embodied in the proposal and offer of the Viceroy made in August last<sup>2</sup> in this behalf and which, as you know, was rejected by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.<sup>3</sup> That decision was confirmed unanimously by the Council<sup>4</sup> and also by the full sessions of the All India Muslim League at Madras, which commenced on the 12th of April 1941.<sup>5</sup> Thereby you have not only defied the policy and the attitude of the All India Muslim League but have gone against the solemn and express decision, embodied in the Resolution No.1 of the Working Committee, dated the 28th of September 1940.<sup>6</sup>

Your action and conduct constitutes violation of the decision of the League and you have acted in contravention of the general policy of the League laid down in the series of the resolutions since August 1939 with regard to the matter of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and setting up of what was hitherto known as War Advisory Council.

I, therefore, in order to maintain and secure discipline and correct standard of public life, as you are a member and an office-bearer in the All India Muslim League, have no alternative but to give you notice that it is proposed that disciplinary action should be taken against you by virtue of the power conferred upon me by the full sessions of the All India Muslim League in April, 1941 at Madras, by its express resolution. I give you this notice so that you may have the opportunity of a hearing whatever you may have to say in your defence, either in person or in writing, within a week from the receipt of this notice, in default of which I shall have to proceed

against you *ex parte*.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, note 2, 270-2.

<sup>2</sup>See Enclosure to No. 506, *JP*, XV, 687-9.

<sup>3</sup>See Enclosure to No. 7, *JP*, XVI, 12-3, Resolution No. 3.

<sup>4</sup>See Resolution No. 5, *AFM* 262/77.

<sup>5</sup>See Resolution No. 4, *AFM* 239/106-7.

<sup>6</sup>*AFM* 129/132.

## 32

*Fazlali to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 579/35-9*

[*Extract*]

GUJRAT, PUNJAB,  
9 August 1941

Respected Sir,

No one knows the condition of Indian Muslims better than yourself. But this is also a fact that, however, one may be capable and well-informed, it is difficult to be well aware of the conditions prevailing in Indian villages and the true feelings of those inhabiting them. Therefore, parties or organizations are almost entirely influenced by the views and feelings of urbanites whose education, culture and attainments are far higher than ruralists. These 10 per cent (urbanites) of the population have not generally had a soft corner in their hearts for the 90 per cent [rural people].

There are various reasons for demanding the expulsion of the gentlemen who have joined the Defence War Committee. But whatever the reason there may be for the above we have to see whether it will be conducive to the prestige or popularity of the League and whether it will benefit the community.

It is also essential to see whether a self-respecting [and] foresighted person can think of keeping himself aloof from the war effort in the Punjab, which is a country [*sic* for land] of the warriors [and] a considerable number of whom have since long adopted military profession. Will it not be a hard test of the Punjab if such a request is made to the Province? When this is the case, should not the leaders and well-wishers of the country co-operate with the public in the defence of their country, and can they afford to do otherwise?

Under these conditions, if Sir Sikander Hyat Khan does not stand with us, he will be guilty of a heinous crime and if the League accuses him of co-operating with us [sic] and considers his joining any War Committee against the regulations [resolution], then it can be said without fear of contradiction that the League is absolutely unaware of the conditions prevailing here and that the body does not care even for our lives. This will undoubtedly result in disintegration amongst the Muslims and hence in successful war effort.

Perhaps your goodself remembers that such deplorable schism has already taken place in the Punjab and it was due to the efforts of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan that the League in the Punjab, nay in India, [was] rejuvenated and it became so strong that now it is not easy to oppose it.

The Muslims are already much divided. Unity is non-existent. The heads are already scattered and if anyone tries to scatter them more, let him do so. May the Almighty bless the community.

If Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Moulvi Fazlul Huq as Premiers of their provinces and some other leaders do not stand with their communities in this War, I may be excused to say that they will fail in their moral and religious duties.

The League or your goodself had exempted some Ministers from some acts. It is, therefore, not impossible to grant exemptions in special cases to those who join the Committees in respect of their official position or in case of those persons for whom it is very necessary to join these Committees.

Expelling of Ministers from the League or their resignations from the Defence Committee or the League would result in chaos.

I may kindly be excused to say that the fate of the Punjab rests on Sir Sikander Hyat Khan. The martial races look upon him as their real guide. The Punjab and the Muslims consider him by the grace of Almighty as their support.

I firmly believe that before passing your verdict about those joining the Defence Committee you will give a passionate consideration to this and the feelings of power will not in the least affect your foresightedness. It is also worth considering that we are laying our dear lives in the War and the shouts of co-operation with the Government are being raised by Dr. [Balkrishna Sheoram] Moonje and [Dr. V. D.] Savarkar. Such being the case, who will be considered deserving of better consideration at the hands of the Government on the successful termination of the War?

At the end, I once again apologise for giving trouble to your



worthy self and hope that you will very graciously excuse me for any shortcomings in expression.

Yours sincerely,  
FAZLALI  
MLA

33

*Mohammad Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/103-6*

110 UPPER MALL,  
LAHORE,  
9 August 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose<sup>1</sup> a clipping from the *Lahore Tribune* of today as it may interest you.

So far, I am not aware why we have been asked to meet here but I do hope that Sir Sikander [Hyat Khan] will continue to be a member of the [Muslim] League. If the trouble only is that he has agreed to be nominated to the Defence Council then I think that the difficulty is not unsurmountable because he can resign and put in people like Nawab Muzaffar Khan, who have been expelled from the League but are still members of his party.

I have not made this suggestion to him and I do not propose to do so because I do not know what you think of this proposal; and because if I make it, then he is likely to think that I want to get into the Defence Council in this way.

But in my opinion, he should continue to be a member of the League, (a) because if the Muslim Chief Ministers are with the League then it is certainly good for the organisation and (b) because it will immensely please the non-Muslims if he severs his connection with the League.

Sometime ago I read in some paper that you were unwell; I hope that there was no truth in this report and in any case I hope that you are quite well now.

Please remember me to your sister,

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD NAWAZ KHAN  
Lt. Col.; Knight

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.



## 34

*K. T. M. Ahmed Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/93*

33 ERRABALU CHETTY STREET,  
GEORGE TOWN,  
MADRAS,  
9 August 1941

Dear Sir,

We have the honour to communicate to you the following resolution unanimously passed by the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League at its meeting held on 3rd instant:

This Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League reiterates its implicit confidence in Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Jinnah and gives its whole-hearted support to the attitude he has taken with regard to the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the formation of the National Defence Council.

We need hardly state that we and the Muslims of the South have the fullest confidence in your leadership; of which the above resolution is but a feeble manifestation.

With best regards and *salaam*,

Yours sincerely,  
K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM  
*Honorary Secretary*  
*Madras Presidency Muslim League*

## 35

*Nazir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 826/102*

MONTGOMERY,  
10 August 1941

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith ■ copy of a resolution passed

at a meeting of the District Muslim League, Montgomery, for your kind consideration.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

NAZIR AHMAD KHAN

*Secretary, District Muslim League*

*Enclosure*

*Resolution passed by District Muslim League, Montgomery*

*F. 826/103*

*10 August 1941*

Resolved that in view of the honest difference of opinion about the question of Muslims joining the war effort of India, and in view of the fact that, constitutionally, individual Leaguers are not debarred from serving war activities of the country and are in fact working on War Committees etc., and in view of the political situation in the country and the efforts of other communities to take an increasing share in the country's defence effort, the District Muslim League earnestly requests the Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Jinnah not to take any such step as may cause a permanent rift between the two points of view which may ultimately lead to disruption of the League and undermine Muslim solidarity.

36

*Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

STRICTLY SECRET/CONFIDENTIAL

9 GARIAHAT ROAD,  
CALCUTTA,

*10 August 1941*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

We here have been very naturally perturbed over the situation created by the Chief Minister joining the Defence Council and your threat of disciplinary action.<sup>2</sup> I did not write to you, so far, as I could not see any satisfactory solution of the problem. Moulana Akrum Khan wired<sup>3</sup> to you with our approval and is very disappointed that

Mr. Fazlul Huq did not resign as he was given to understand. For the present, I do not want to enter into the merits of the question but I shall place before you Mr. Fazlul Huq's version, the present public opinion in Bengal on the question, and the consequences that may ensue as a result of disciplinary action. My duty is to give you the facts correctly and to place before you my own views so that you may help us out of the difficulty.

Mr. Fazlul Huq thinks that:

1. He was asked to join in his capacity as Chief Minister, and it was not possible for him to consult (this is I think correct), and he never dreamt that he was going against the League.
2. Mr. Jinnah decided to take disciplinary action without calling for an explanation or making a request to resign and this was announced even before the Working Committee or the Council could express any opinion.
3. He was condemned without a hearing.

As far as (1) is concerned, in view of Mr. Amery's statement<sup>4</sup> and the writings in the Hindu press, it will be difficult for him to justify his action, though he thinks that if Mr. Amery was to withdraw his remarks, he would have a very good defence and may be able to fight the League and justify his action.

(2) and (3) are apparently points in his favour.

Muslim opinion in Bengal, as far as one can judge, is 90 per cent in support of the League, particularly in view of Mr. Amery's statement and the writings in the Hindu press. Apart from a few of his personal supporters and political jackals, there is hardly anyone who would not support the League.

From our point of view, the really important question is the reactions to disciplinary action against the Chief Minister and what will be the political repercussions. The answer depends, to a large extent, on what disciplinary actions will be taken. If the Chief Minister is turned out of the League, then he will naturally have to give up the Presidentship of the Provincial Muslim League and its Working Committee. He will be free to start another organization and will be immediately taken by the Krishak Proja and other Muslim, anti-League, organizations. This may lead to a certain amount of setback to the Muslim League organization in Bengal but, in the long run, how far the League will be affected is difficult to forecast. If Mr. Fazlul Huq could get the Secondary Education Bill through the Assembly, he will regain a lot of prestige which he would lose by being turned out of the League.

If the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League can step further and call upon the Muslim League Ministers and MLAs to withdraw their support from the Chief Minister of Bengal, then a very serious situation will arise in Bengal. We will all have to resign, the Ministry will have to be reshuffled, and one cannot tell whether it will be possible to have a Ministry at all in Bengal. We may be converted into ■ Section 93 Province. From the Muslim point of view this will be disastrous. The Muslims of Bengal will go back to the position they were [in] before 1937 and will practically lose the benefit of all the progress that has been made during the last four years. The obvious question, therefore, arises: why are we not persuading Mr. Fazlul Huq to resign from the Defence Council? The reply is that if he had not been threatened with disciplinary action, he would not have had the slightest objection to resigning. He objects to being treated like a school boy and being condemned without a hearing. He says that if you had only written to him, he would have complied with your request. I cannot vouch for the correctness of the above but this is what he says. His explanation for not resigning on the wire sent by you to Moulana Akrum Khan is that, had the wire been sent direct instead of being sent through Moulana Akrum Khan, he would have resigned. (This I heard from a second-hand source and not directly from him.) On behalf of Mr. Fazlul Huq, it is stated by his friends that if Mr. Jinnah were to write to him direct a nice letter, as coming from one Musalman to another and in a friendly way, he will [*sic* for would] resign from the Defence Council.

Now let me place before you my own personal views for your consideration. The League position has been seriously jeopardized by the statement of Mr. Amery and there is no doubt that we are made small. How can the League regain its position? Obviously, only by two ways; one is disciplinary action against those who have gone against the League and the second, if the Premiers can be made to resign from the Defence Council. The latter will certainly be a triumph for the League and it will re-establish its position far more effectively if we can get the Premiers to resign. The position is that if Mr. Fazlul Huq resigns Sir Saadulla will follow suit. Sir Sikander will then be placed in an almost impossible position and may either resign or face disciplinary action. Therefore, in my opinion, we must exert our utmost to get Mr. Fazlul Huq to resign. It will be the best reply that the League can give to Mr. Amery. We have here decided



on the following course:

The Muslim Ministers, at least four out of five, will wait upon Mr. Fazlul Huq and request him to resign from the Defence Council. We are also trying to use other influence to make him resign. I have been assured by one who is in his confidence and who, I know, exerts great influence over him, that if you were to write to Mr. Fazlul Huq personally and ask him to resign he will [sic for would] do so.

In view of what has happened with Moulana Akrum, I do not ask you to write to him unless I am certain that on receiving your letter he will resign. Therefore, my proposal is that you should address a letter to Mr. Fazlul Huq, enclose it in an envelope addressed to him, put it in another envelope and send it to me. When I am positive that he will resign, then only your letter will be handed over to him, and your letter along with his letter of resignation will be published simultaneously. As soon as the letter of resignation is published, or I wire or phone you that it is alright, then you can send ■ wire to Sir Saadulla and follow it up with a letter. From what he has stated in the public, it is apparent that he will follow suit. So, out of the three Muslim League Chief Ministers, two will resign and the third may also do so. The League prestige will be fully vindicated.

I hope you will get this letter on Tuesday morning. I shall phone you on Tuesday night at 10.30 p.m. The trouble is that I may not get the connection till 11.30. If the time is not convenient, then please send me a wire on receipt of this letter, and I shall phone you on Wednesday morning at 8.00 a.m. As it is possible that you may not get this letter on Tuesday, I shall wait for your wire before phoning. Would you, therefore, kindly send a wire as soon as you get this letter, telling me what time will be convenient for you, for me to phone you.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
K. NAZIMUDDIN

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters 1936-41*, 283-6.

<sup>2</sup>See Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. III, Lahore, 1996, 1432-3.

<sup>3</sup>No. 26.

<sup>4</sup>Mr. Amery stated that Viceroy had succeeded in securing the cooperation of some Muslim League Members. See *Keesings Contemporary Archives 1940-43*, 4708.

## 37

*Sayed M. F. Peerzade to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 874/173-4*

ANKOLA,  
N. KANARA,  
12 August 1941

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

It is after a long break that I am making bold to write to you. The critical pass, the affairs of our community have now come to, compels me to approach you once again with my humble views as the one who is still capable of giving the right lead to the Muslim India. The Muslim League has been fast heading for a crisis owing to the awkward situation created by the recent actions of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and others in joining the Viceroy's expanded Council etc. without previously consulting the Executive of the League. It is but natural that all the anti-Muslim elements should now be gloating over the prospect of a split being created in the ranks of the League. One need hardly emphasize here that a very heavy responsibility now rests on the Working Committee of the League, due to meet on 24th instant in Bombay, and we all fervently hope and pray that the League Executive may, under your hitherto unerring guidance, come out yet stronger and more disciplined from the ordeal by succeeding in avoiding the threatened split and making the Muslims more united than ever before.

It appears that the leaders who have now joined the Viceroy's Council etc. are able still to carry with them the bulk of the Muslim opinion in their respective provinces. This means that the Muslim masses are yet far from sufficiently trained and disciplined so as to be able to distinguish between principles and personalities and between true and false leaders. In the circumstances, therefore, if the League were to adopt too strict [an] attitude towards these leaders, it is likely that they might prove very obdurate, threatening the very solidarity of the League. I, therefore, humbly suggest the following solution of the problem, which, I think, will help surmount the difficulty to the satisfaction of all concerned.

These leaders should be asked to publicly express unconditional regret for what they've done without the previous permission of the League and place themselves unreservedly at the disposal of the

League in regard to their present positions in the Viceroy's Council etc., and to give an undertaking not to do anything in future derogatory to the power and prestige of the League. On their doing this, which, let us hope, they will in the larger interest of the community, the League as a special case in view of the difficult and peculiar position, especially of the League Premiers, should permit them to continue to hold their new positions in their individual capacity.

I shall be deeply indebted if you kindly acknowledge receipt of this and favour me with your esteemed views about these humble suggestions of mine.

Praying to be excused for the trouble. With respects and humble regards to [your] self,

Your humble brother-in-Islam,  
SAYED M. F. PEERZADE

## 38

*Abdul Majeed to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/94-5*  
*[Original in Urdu]*

PAISA AKHBAR OFFICE,  
LAHORE,  
12 August 1941

Respected Mohammad Ali Jinnah,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

Once again, I am writing to you after a long time and I hope you will peruse this letter. The mischief being made for the last five years to suppress the Muslim League in the Punjab are well known to you. The Muslims of India, particularly of the Punjab, whole-heartedly stand by you because of their political awakening.

The breach of the League discipline by Fazlul Huq, Sir Sikander, Saadulla and their likes cannot be excused, particularly when Mr. Amery claims that the Viceroy has succeeded in inducting Muslim League members in his Council. Those who disobeyed the Quaid-i-Azam and traded off the nation for self-aggrandizement, and intentionally committed indiscipline, should not be allowed to enter the folds of the Muslim League. I am not being harsh in my observations, for I might appear to be biased. Sending of a delegation by Sikander's party to the meeting scheduled for 24 August is a trap. Sikander and his party hate the League workers. They were



insignificant ten years back. The Govt. has made them puppets in their hands by bestowing the title of knighthood. So long as they remain in power, they will be a curse for the Muslims. Anyhow, you should not be afraid of them. Kindly do full justice to them as Hazrat Abu Bakar and Hazrat Umar did during their regimes. They are traitors and cannot be accepted as leaders of the Muslims.

Public opinion is with you because you are on the right path. The pro-Sikander group has established a fund with five lakhs of rupees to materialise their nefarious designs which must be foiled at all costs. Their threats are hallow because the people are not with them, apart from some self-serving elements. Their only focus is titles, power and money. Their singular distinction is to undermine the spirit of national progress and prosperity. They are thriving on the miseries of the masses.

*Wassalaam*

Yours obediently,  
ABDUL MAJEED

PS. I do not expect a reply; I just wanted to inform you about the situation.

### 39

*N. B. Khare to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, CP & Berar II/98-100*

DHANTOLI,  
NAGPUR,  
12 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Last summer, when I was attempting to form a coalition ministry, you had blessed the attempt saying that "the Muslim League policy—pending the consideration as to what should be the future constitution of India—has been to co-operate willingly with any progressive group which will adopt a real constructive and ameliorative programme under the present constitution with a view to realising it, as far as possible, for the progress and welfare of the Province, provided even-handed justice is done to every class and community and the Musalmans, and their rights and interests are fully and effectively safeguarded."

The attempt was given up last year as no stable ministry could then be formed. But now the situation has changed and it is possible to form a stable ministry with the help and co-operation of the Muslim League Party in the Legislature and some other groups, for example



the Ambedkarites.<sup>1</sup>

I have not yet moved in the matter but I will do so on hearing from you that the attitude of the Muslim League is the same as last year.

An early reply will highly oblige.

With sincere regards,

Yours,  
N. B. KHARE  
MLA

<sup>1</sup>Followers of Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, ■ spokesman for the Depressed Classes in India.

## 40

*M. A. Jinnah to Pothan Joseph*

*F. 773/233-5*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
12 August 1941

Dear Mr. Pothan Joseph,

I received your telegram<sup>1</sup> with regard to your idea of calling a special session of the All India Muslim League, but as we were considering the question of taking disciplinary action against those members of the Muslim League organisation who have associated themselves with the Viceroy's scheme of the expansion of the Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council, I wired to you to the effect that I would write to you later about your suggestion.

In the first instance, the question of the procedure had to be considered. As you perhaps know, the full sessions of the All India Muslim League held at Madras have given me all the powers, which I can and could have exercised and proceeded at once to take disciplinary action against those who have violated the express decision and the policy of the Muslim League and ignored [*sic* for failed] to inform and consult the leader or the executive of the organisation. After careful consideration, I came to the conclusion that the normal procedure should be adopted, which is that the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, under the constitution, is empowered to take such disciplinary action, subject to appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League. Had I taken the action myself they would have been deprived of

their right of appeal, and also I thought, for other reasons, that there was no necessity of exercising my powers, and hence I decided to adopt the normal course. The meeting of the Working Committee is going to be held on the 24th of August 1941 at Bombay and intimation is given to the erring members, giving them the fullest opportunity in their defence, as they are entitled to be heard to give their explanation, either in writing or in person, and the matter will be dealt with by the Working Committee. But, at the same time, the Working Committee will have to consider all the developments and deal with the various other matters, and amongst all these matters the question also may be discussed as to whether we should call a special session of the All India Muslim League. I, therefore, think that we shall be in a better position to consider what should be our next move after the meeting of the Working Committee.

May I express my warm appreciation of your very able articles that have appeared in the *Star of India*, so ably putting the case of the Muslim League. You have shown a very great knowledge and insight regarding the policy and the decisions of the League.

I wonder whether you have got all the resolutions and the decisions that have been taken by the League. If you have not, please secure a copy from the Central Office of the All India Muslim League, Delhi, or else I will send you one copy.

I wish particularly to draw your attention to three resolutions which directly concern the present issue, which is nothing short of treachery on the part of those who have violated the decision of the League, as they were a party to it and they never raised any objection to it either at the time of the decision or thereafter, and these decisions were taken unanimously both in the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League. These resolutions are: first, the resolution of the Working Committee, dated the 15th, 16th and 17th of June 1940,<sup>2</sup> confirmed by the Council;<sup>3</sup> second, the resolutions of the Working Committee, dated the 31st of August, 1st and 2nd of September 1940,<sup>4</sup> confirmed by the Council<sup>5</sup> and third, the resolution of the Working Committee, dated the 28th of September 1940,<sup>6</sup> confirmed by the Council on the 29th of September 1940.<sup>7</sup>

A careful study of these three important resolutions will leave no doubt in the mind of anybody that the action of these gentlemen is a clear violation of the decision of the League and its general policy. You will notice from these resolutions that the Working Committee clearly pronounced its decision about the Provincial War Committee in the following words by its resolution of June 1940:

The Working Committee is of opinion that in view of the

immediate danger facing the country, the real purpose will not be served by the Musalmans and others by merely joining the proposed Provincial and District War Committees with their present scope and functions.

After the declaration of the 8th of August,<sup>8</sup> as some of the points for which we were pressing were met and as the question of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the setting up of the War Advisory Council, as it was then called, was being negotiated and as the Muslim League had not adopted the policy of non-co-operation with the Government, it was stated as follows in their resolution, dated the 31st of August 1940:

In view of these circumstances the Working Committee leave those Musalmans who think that they can serve any useful purpose by merely associating themselves with the War Committees, free to do so, and the full power was given to me to negotiate with regard to the all-India issue viz. expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and setting up of the War Advisory Council.

The offer that was made by the Viceroy to the Muslim League was rejected by its resolution of the 28th and 29th of September 1940. Thereafter the offer was suspended by the Viceroy and suddenly and secretly behind our back, the decision to adopt the present scheme was taken without further reference to us, to which these members have given their sanction and have associated themselves with.

These are the main facts at the background of the situation, but I would like you to study the facts yourself, which may enable you to handle the misleading excuses that are put forward now.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Pothan Joseph, Esq.,  
Editor,  
*Star of India*,  
Calcutta

<sup>1</sup>See F. 1099/103, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 323, Resolution No. 3, JP, XV, 443-4.

<sup>3,5&7</sup>See Resolution No. 5 in AFM 262/77-8. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>See Enclosure to No. 7, JP, XVI, 11-3. Not printed.

<sup>6</sup>See Resolution No. 1, AFM 129/132. Not printed.

<sup>8</sup>See Enclosure to No. 506, JP, XV, 687-9.



## 41

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 1099/147-51

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
12 August 1941

THE BENGAL SITUATION

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The situation in Bengal is briefly as follows:

A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

Moulana Akrum Khan approached Mr. Huq with your telegraphic appeal.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fazlul Huq flatly refused to resign from the Defence Council. He also said that Mr. Jinnah had insulted him by declaring to take disciplinary action against him without giving an opportunity to place his case before the Working Committee. He is in a great agitated condition and also nervous. I learnt that Sir Zafrulla Khan and the British are exerting pressure on him and this was the reason he broke his solemn promise, he gave to Moulana Akrum Khan.

MOULANA AKRUM KHAN

Moulana Akrum Khan came back from Mr. Huq disappointed and disgusted. He informed us of the result of his talk with Mr. Huq and advised us to be ready for a "war" for the vindication of the Muslim League honour. The Moulana feels very strongly that the League and its ideal of Pakistan can no more survive without direct action, supreme struggle and sacrifice unless we are ready for it. He says, we must be ready to submit to Amery's plan of Anglo-Hindu *raj*. Moulana and his son, Moulvi Khairul Inam Khan, have given us a word of honour that they will wholeheartedly support you and will be ready even to sacrifice their lives. Their daily *Azad* along with the entire Muslim press in Bengal is supporting you.

H. S. SUHRAWARDY

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy said that if the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League directed [him] to resign his office on the issue, he will not [only] follow suit but he [will be] the first to resign and carry out the League programme. He also



supports your Bombay statement<sup>2</sup> but was in doubt why you issued your second statement from Hyderabad<sup>3</sup> without consulting the Working Committee. When I said that Mr. Jinnah has been given plenary powers by the Madras session he replied that as far as he remembered it was the matter of negotiation with the British Government. Then I searched for and showed him the real wording of Resolution No. 7 of Madras [session].<sup>4</sup> On this, he was satisfied so much so that he himself argued with some Muslim MLAs in the Assembly chamber and convinced them that Mr. Jinnah was constitutionally right to take that action. Yet he is of the opinion that it was advisable for Mr. Jinnah to work through the League.

Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy is also very wroth with Mr. Amery on his latest speech. He regards it as a frontal attack on the League and the entire Muslim position. He is going to issue a statement on this point. Mr. Shaheed, through K. B. Manzur Murshed, the Private Secretary and nephew of Mr. Huq, conveyed a definite message and advice to Mr. Huq to resign from the Defence Council on the ground of Mr. Amery's speech in which he had rejected the Pakistan plan (of which Mr. Huq was the mover) and had also complimented Mr. Huq and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan on their disloyalty to the League. Mr. Shaheed convinced both Mr. Murshed, the conscience-keeper of Mr. Huq, and Mr. Huq himself that this was the real position and that he should resign but Mr. Huq still hesitated saying that why Mr. Jinnah had condemned him in the press without giving him a hearing.

#### A NOTE

Muslim India is anxiously waiting for your statement on Mr. Amery's latest speech. Your statement on this gross betrayal will change the whole situation and will mobilize the whole country against the British.

#### NAZIMUDDIN

Sir Nazimuddin is also in full accord with Mr. Suhrawardy's view. He is also ready to resign his ministership on the call of the League.

#### TAMIZUDDIN KHAN

Another League Minister, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, is a *pucca* Pakistani and is also ready to resign his ministership.

#### NAWAB OF DACCA

[Nawab of Dacca] is also reported to follow suit although it

is learnt that he is somewhat vacillating on account of the fact that he will be a great loser if the ministry goes. But I am confident that he will never go against the League and will at last follow suit.

#### NAWAB MUSHARAF HUSSAIN

Nothing is known about his attitude.

#### THE BENGAL PRESS

The entire Muslim press is supporting your policy. The Anglo-Indian and Hindu press is opposing you. The *Statesman* says that Amery has rejected Pakistan as well as your leadership.

#### BENGAL ASSEMBLY

Mr. Fazlul Huq has not succeeded in getting a single MLA who was ready to support him in this matter. Yet I find a considerable confusion of thought and misunderstanding regarding the identical nature of the War Committees and the Defence Council, particularly because you have not cleared his point. I hope Moulana Akrum's statement will remove this misunderstanding.

#### BENGAL PROVINCIAL LEAGUE

The Bengal League with the exception of one or two will stand by you and your decision. If Mr. Fazlul Huq is expelled, Moulana Akrum Khan will be elected as President of the Provincial League. It is noteworthy that Habibullah Bahar, a member of the Bengal League Working Committee and a supporter of Mr. Huq, very vehemently criticised Mr. Huq and promised to support you.

#### CALCUTTA MUSLIM LEAGUE

The Calcutta District League (comprising Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly and 24-Parganas District) is ready for direct action. Nay, the people here are indignant why direct action is not decided and launched against the British. The Calcutta League people will be thoroughly disappointed if some strong and direct plan of action is not decided against Amery's plan.

#### THE STUDENTS

The students' meeting, held on 2.8.41, was a crowded meeting. All the students were shouting against Fazlul Huq. All students very vehemently attacked him in their speeches. Yet a foul play was played with the students. A resolution expressing confidence in Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Huq was cleverly included in the resolutions and sent to the press through the machination

of Mr. Badruddoja and Manzur Murshed. The students were repenting and saying that they have been cheated. They are ready to hold another meeting. As far as I know, the students will fully support you. Last night, Mr. Huq visited one of the leading hostels. The students pressed him to resign from the Defence Council. He began to pacify them but they refused to accept his arguments.

#### WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

- i. Kindly issue your long-awaited statement on Mr. Amery's speech.
  - ii. There may be representation from Bengal to postpone the Working Committee meeting on account of Secondary Education Bill in Bengal Assembly. Please do not postpone nor change the date. It will produce a very bad impression.
  - iii. If possible try to retain Mr. Fazlul Huq, provided he resigns from the Defence Council and is ready to sign the League creed.
  - iv. Purge the League of Sikanderites.
  - v. Please promulgate a uniform all-India pledge for membership of the Muslim League to be enforced all over India immediately. I sent a draft for the same to you in May. I can send you its copy at your desire.
  - vi. Call a meeting of the Council at Aligarh as soon as possible, preferably in August or first week of September, to mobilize Muslim India against the new policy of the British. Call for Pakistan Fund, Pakistan Militia.
  - vii. Call special session of the Muslim League to decide the final programme of mass action against the British policy in October at Lucknow or Delhi. There will be three stages of the mobilization of the forces of Muslim India for a final effort.
  - viii. Form a committee of five members to chalk out the programme of direct action.
  - ix. Form a presidium of three to be on your side to advise and help you in the direction of mass movement which had been forced upon us by the British.
  - x. If possible take the Ahrars in your camp, provided they embrace the League creed and accept your discipline.
  - xi. Start the English daily as soon as possible. If possible obtain help from Hyderabad also in this enterprise.
- Muslim India earnestly pray and look forward to you for a



courageous lead. We cannot build a Muslim State unless we are ready to pay its price of blood, lives and tears. We must go through the ordeal of fire to purge ourselves of all dross and steel our hearts. We cannot win freedom and build our state simply by passing resolutions. We must show our earnest for it.

The enclosed statement<sup>5</sup> of Moulana Mohammad Akrum Khan was drafted by me and released to the press.

Yours sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN

<sup>1</sup>See No. 2.

<sup>2</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 270-72.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 36, note 2.

<sup>4</sup>AFM 239/99. Not printed.

<sup>5</sup>See F. 1099/153-9, QAP. Not printed.

### *Enclosure*

F. 1099/152

### RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were adopted by the Executive Committee of the Calcutta District Muslim League on 9th August, 1941.

#### FAITH IN QUAID-I-AZAM

The Executive Committee of the Calcutta District Muslim League reiterates its complete faith in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, and whole-heartedly supports his attitude towards the new governmental organization of the Defence Council and the expanded Executive Council, set up by the British Government at the Centre. This League assures Mr. Jinnah that the Muslims of Bengal under all circumstances will solidly stand by the All India Muslim League and carry out its decision faithfully.

#### TO REVISE THE LEAGUE POLICY

In view of the entirely changed attitude and hostile policy of the British Government towards the Muslim nation and their attempt to undermine the solidarity, authority and honour of the Muslim nation and the Muslim national organization in collaboration with other avowed enemies of Islam, this League requests the All India Muslim League to revise its policy, give up its attitude of benevolent neutrality and decide to boycott



all War Committees and launch a mass movement for the vindication of the national Muslim position which has been compromised by the definite declaration, rejecting the Pakistan plan, made by the Secretary of State [for India] in the British Parliament on 1st August 1941.

#### APPEAL FOR UNITY UNDER THE LEAGUE BANNER

This League appeals to the Musalmans of India in general and to the Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab in particular to sink all their petty differences, unite and strengthen their organization under the banner of the All India Muslim League and uphold the honour and solidarity of the League at this critical juncture when the enemies of Islam are combining their forces to undermine the Muslim *Jama'at* by sowing the seeds of disaffection and revolt in the Muslim camp. The entire fate and future of Muslim India depend on all-India Muslim solidarity and capacity of self-sacrifice for the Muslim national cause.

#### IRAN

This Committee views with indignation, concern and anxiety the interference of the British Government in the internal affairs of the Muslim States of the Middle East and condemns unjust and unwarrantable pressure being brought against the Empire of Iran in collaboration with Russia calculated to jeopardise the neutrality of Iran and involve her in serious troubles. The Committee regards it as an attack on the independence, integrity and sovereign rights of Iran.

#### SECONDARY EDUCATION AND MUNICIPAL BILLS

This League disapproves the inordinate delay in the passing of the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill (1941) and the Bengal Secondary Education Bill and protests against the recommittal of the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill to the Select Committee and characterises it as positively harmful to public interest and an undue concession to the agitation of the vested interests.

## 42

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/205-6*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
12 August 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have already sent you a long despatch on the Bengal situation<sup>1</sup> but I learnt something very important last night directly from Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy. He said that Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq approached him in confidence and said that he would not resign from the Defence Council merely on the threat of being excommunicated from the Muslim League by Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Huq then seriously proposed to Mr. Suhrawardy to help him in forming an independent Muslim League in the sense that it will be independent of Mr. Jinnah but fully and completely dependent on the British and the Hindus. I think ■ similar attempt will be made to engineer [a] quisling League in the Punjab.

I believe that Mr. Huq got the inspiration of this idea directly from Simla through Zafrulla Khan. The British are aiming at creating ■ centre party (i) to support a scheme of Central Government of India, (ii) to revive the federal plan in a new form and (iii) immediately to help the British in winning the War.

Mr. Shaheed said that he will not be a party to this sinister move but try to explode it. Mr. Huq has engaged Mr. Badruddoja and one K. B. Abdul Qadir, MLA of Chittagong, a weak man of no ability to make propaganda on their behalf but we do not find any response from any quarters for Mr. Huq. Mr. Huq also said to Mr. Shaheed that if only Shaheed could leave the League he would not fear anyone. Thank God, he will be thoroughly defeated in his bad object. Today's *Azad* has splashed Moulana Akrum's statement on Mr. Amery and his Simla Plan supporting you. It has smashed Mr. Huq's position. It has produced a wonderful result.

I submit that you should issue a statement on Mr. Amery's statement [Plan] without delay and expose the British move to undermine the Muslim League. Do not wait for the Working Committee for this statement. It is urgently wanted.

I also suggest that an all-India Muslim national unity day should be observed, (i) to pass resolutions supporting the All India Muslim

League, (ii) to condemn the British move and attempt to divide and disintegrate Muslim India, (iii) to support the creed of the League, (iv) to voice Muslim protest against the British breach of faith and (v) to stress and emphasise the supreme necessity of national solidarity and discipline in the present struggle for existence of Muslim India. I hope you will please consider this suggestion and choose a date.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 41.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah thanked him for providing information on Bengal and making various suggestions. See F. 204/148, QAP. Not printed.

## 43

*Mian Roshan Din to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/96-9*

THE ISLAH,  
LUDHIANA,  
12 August 1941

Sir,

Apropos your decision to take disciplinary action against Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and the other two Muslim Premiers who have joined the India Defence Council, I, as a humble Musalman, consider it necessary to make the following respectful submissions for your kind consideration:

The Muslim members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly have, in a recent meeting at Lahore, declared their confidence in Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and decided to send a deputation to explain to you the circumstances leading to the misunderstanding which has unfortunately arisen between you and Sir Sikander and the other Premiers.

The mass of the Punjab Muslims are behind Sir Sikander and his adhesion to the League will continue to be, as it has hitherto been, a source of overwhelming strength to the League.

It may be impertinent on my part to emphasize that the best interest of Muslim India at the present juncture demands a united front among the Musalmans of which [*sic* for whom] the All India Muslim League, under your statesmanlike and inspiring leadership, is the sole representative organization.

The general feeling in this part of the Province is that the conduct of Sir Sikander in accepting membership of the Indian Defence Council is consistent with the Jinnah-Sikander Pact and the declaration of the League to allow the Premiers and Ministers to join the war effort in their individual capacity. The threatened action against Sir Sikander and others would sever general sympathy with the League and decimate its present strength and utility.

I believe and earnestly pray that you, with your unrivalled farsightedness and ability, may succeed in steering the League and Muslim India clear of the present crisis as you have done in many a similar situation since you assumed their leadership. We are proud of you and will be prouder still, if, through your high-minded accommodation and tact, this apparent crisis culminates in a greater solidarity of Muslim India to the discomfiture of its jubilant critics.

I venture to suggest that, before placing this matter before the Working Committee, you may procure a direct exchange of views with the three Muslim Premiers.

Ever respectfully yours,  
M. ROSHAN DIN  
*Municipal Commissioner;  
Proprietor of the Islah weekly*

## 44

*Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/136-7*

CIVIL LINES, ALIGARH,  
12 August 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Let me first of all thank you on behalf of the All India Muslim Students' Federation for kindly accepting the presidentship of the session. I want to fix 28th, 29th and 30th of December for the session. In case you may suggest any alteration as to suit your convenience then I will request you to kindly let me know. In any case, I will anxiously wait to hear your approval of the dates before announcing them in the press.

The Muslim youth is watching the present development with the keenest interest and let me assure you on behalf of the Muslim Students' Federation that any decision which the Muslim



League Executive will take, will receive the whole-hearted approval of the Muslim students. I hope that the Muslim League Premiers will realise the great blunder which they have committed and will retrace their steps as the only honourable course. They cannot divide their allegiance. Their first loyalty should be to the League. No excuse of the double position will be acceptable to the Muslims.

The Muslim youth is jubilant over the stand that you have taken. The time has come when such persons should be turned out from the Councils of the League. We are sure that we will be stronger without them. We have full faith in our Quaid-i-Azam who alone can deliver the goods on behalf of the Muslims and who alone enjoys the confidence of the entire nation. Let me assure you that any call from you will find the Muslim youth in the front rank. No sacrifice is greater than the one made for an honourable and just cause. We can no longer tolerate that the British Government should continue its old policy of lavishing favours on certain individuals and pass them on as Muslim representatives. While I was in Bengal, very lately, I found that the masses and the students are whole-heartedly with you and the Muslim press is supporting you. As was expected, the Hindu press is very jubilant and expects disruption in the League circle. Whatever may be said, the fact remains that the Muslim India will follow its dear leader, Quaid-i-Azam.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD NOMAN

45

*Muhammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/141-3*

DISTRICT JAIL,  
DEHRA DUN, (U.P.),  
12 August 1941

*Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim*

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have the fullest trust in your leadership. Only a fool would not see what position the Muslim League has gained during

the last three years. We have been always advancing and that too quite rapidly, in spite of the kind of following you have had. That in his last speech, Mr. Amery speaks of insuperable objections to such a scheme as the so-called Pakistan scheme, at any rate in its extreme form, I find rather encouraging. There are still much more encouraging statements in his speech. He finally seems to dismiss the English parliamentary system [as] being unsuitable for India. Then he seems to be positive that the Congress is never likely to enjoy such a powerful position in the Government of India as they would have enjoyed in the now dead constitution. But there is no finality in politics. Mr. Amery, Mr. Churchill or anybody else is not going to fight our battle. We alone must solve our problems. Under your leadership, we hope we will do.

#### MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

In the monthly, *Palestine and Middle East* of January 1, 1941, on page 13, there is an article on the Hebrew University and War. It begins as follows:

When the Hebrew University was projected, it was conceived not only as the centre of Jewish learning but equally as an institution which would grapple with the manifold scientific problems confronting the development of the Jewish national home... .

And we know what part the Hebrew University has been playing in the realization of the political aspiration of the Jewish nation. And yet, Mr. Jinnah, excluding your personal interest, which I appreciate fully, the Muslim League as an organisation has been criminally neglecting this source of all real power. Nay, the leaders of the U.P. Muslim League have served as the fifth column of the Congress and, unknowingly, as the agents of the anti-religious Communistic-International. I take all the responsibility of making this bold statement on me. It is an irrefutable fact that Nawab [Mohamed] Ismail Khan, the President of the U.P. League, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, the leader of the Muslim League Party in the U.P. Assembly, our popular leader Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, and some others, living or now dead, brought by canvassing and by their own votes into the Muslim University Court, Congress Muslim MLAs from various provincial and central assemblies, because they thought these Congress Muslims will cast their votes against Sir Zia Uddin. Mr. Jinnah, you remember, three years ago both Dr. Zia Uddin

and Nawab Ismail Khan at your advice withdrew their names as candidates for the Vice-Chancellorship. I have heard from a big Congress leader, though just now I have forgotten his name, that Pandit [Govind] Ballabh Pant was angry with Nawab Ismail Khan on account of withdrawing his name, for Mr. Pant had made all arrangements for leave etc. of such members of the University Court who were to vote for the Nawab Sahib. Nawab Ismail Khan has been the greatest supporter of Dr. Zakir of the Jamia Millia, who had been doing his best to introduce Congress-minded members in the staff and the Court. Another great friend of Nawab Sahib has been Khan Bahadur Habibullah, the bitterest enemy of all League workers in the University. About this Dr. Abid, Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad and myself protested once to Nawab Sahib. So far, he stayed once at Dr. Abid's when he came on League business. And once we three and a few others spoke to Nawab Sahib about Dr. Zakir. Upon this Nawab lost all self-control and was full of rage. And now the thing has been exposed. They have been the cause of party feeling in the University. For years they have been intriguing to bring in Congress-wallas on key positions in the University. It were these three persons who had brought men like Tasadduq Ahmad Sherwani, Abdul Majid Khwaja and Khwaja Abdul Hameed of Okasa fame in the Executive Council of the University. And now that everything is out and they find that in spite of all their intrigues and, let me say boldly, their treachery to Islam, they have at last resigned from the membership of the Executive Council of the University and they have lost the power they had been wielding so long.

Members of the Muslim League in the University, its officials and I regard the election of Dr. Zia Uddin as the greatest victory of the Muslim League against the grim opposition of the U.P. Muslim League. Does it not look like an anomaly?

In to-day's *Statesman*, I read, "This University is ■ Muslim institution, which has preserved an Islamic atmosphere and respect for Islamic tenets. For those who oppose and undermine Islamic beliefs and practices, other universities are open', declared Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor, while addressing the students of the Muslim University, Aligarh, at the beginning of the new session to-day...." But these will remain words uttered into the air to be lost, unless someone, who is energetic, enthusiastic and capable, takes them up and sees that the Doctor sticks to them. Instead, I am sure, there will be lots of energetic opposition



to him on account of this. They will say, it is an [*word missing*] for starting a reign of terror. Will the League give the fullest support to Dr. Zia Uddin in carrying out this much-needed purge? Unfortunately, we have a divided house. We are obliged to tolerate much that we bitterly hate. Mr. Jinnah, I know your difficulties. We are not able to take a strong disciplinary action against any influential member of the League. We have got to avoid any possible split. At present, we ought to avoid the split at any cost. But some day we will have to fight the *Munafiqeen*. The League must draw its strength from the masses and the students. Then alone we can fight the renegades and the *Munafiq*. We will have to make a purge in the League some day in the near future.

#### WHAT IS ISLAM?

Mr. Jinnah, it is very necessary that we should be quite clear as to what Islam is. Here is the result of more than thirty-five years' devoted studies of my brother and mine: Islam is *Din*. *Din* means obedience. Islam as *Din* means total obedience to *Allah*. Mind, it is obedience not the worship. We can obey *Allah* only by obeying His Messenger, Muhammad, peace be upon him. The Messenger of *Allah* is no more with us. We can obey him only by obeying his *Khalifa*, his *Ameer*, the Leader of the Muslim nation. The destiny of the Muslim nation is to establish the sovereignty of *Allah* so that man be freed from rule of man or ruler. This sovereignty of *Allah* is called *Darus Salaam* or the abode of peace. Prayer, fasting, *zakat*, *hajj*, *jihad*, *hijra*, *jama'at* are chiefly to train us and develop our character which alone can enable us to realize our destiny. The leader of the Muslim nation, who leads the Muslim nation to its true and real destiny, can alone be called its true and real leader. The obedience of such a leader alone is Islam. If we do not have such a leader and if we do not obey such a leader, we are no more Muslims. A very bold statement? Nevertheless, it is wholly true according to the true Islamic doctrine. Not even the so-called Moulana Azad, Hussein Ahmad Madni, Kifayetullah, or Ahmad Saeed can ever refute it. Verses of the holy *Qur'an*, *Hadiths* and historical references can be quoted in support of this statement. In its elaboration quite a big book can be written. Mr. Jinnah, remember it well, the present Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, etc., are religions with their sacraments, their priests, etc. That Islam is a state idea and a statecraft or practice, these are long



discussions. Islamic state is for the welfare of the people. It is for their material, intellectual and spiritual welfare. It must be the work of the research scholars in the Muslim University to write on Islamic sociology, on Islamic economics, on Islamic ethics, on Islamic philosophy, on Islamic cosmology and on Islamic world outlook. The students of Islam must be able to look at everything from an Islamic point of view.

I understand that the League has appointed a Committee to make a programme for a ten years' plan. Is it possible for that Committee to keep at least this point in view, I mean this idea before them?

I know for certain reasons you will not like to write to me. But, please, do write an acknowledgment<sup>1</sup> of this letter to my brother, Prof. Dr. Muhammad Abdul Jabbar Kheiri, M.A., Ph.D., Ghurfa, Pahari Imli, near Jamia Masjid, Delhi.

At the end, I pray to *Allah* to give you wisdom and insight, ability and strength to lead the Muslim nation of India to its true destiny. *Aameen!*

I am devotedly and sincerely yours,  
MUHAMMAD ABDUS SATTAR KHEIRI  
M.A.  
Professor

[PS.] And obey God and His Messenger and do not quarrel, for then you will be weak and no one will be afraid of you, and be patient, for God is with the patient. Holy *Qur'an*, VIII-46.

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah assured Kheiri that his suggestions would be carefully considered. See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, New Delhi, 1981, 185.

## 46

*Mohammad Abdussattar Khan Niazi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/144-6*

SULEIMAN BUILDINGS,  
DIL MOHAMMAD ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
12<sup>1</sup> August 1941

Quaid-i-Azam,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

In my last letter<sup>2</sup> I laid more emphasis on the day-to-day

activities of our struggle. I wanted to postpone the graver issues to the day when we could discuss things face-to-face. But the march of time has forced our hands. In certain matters, the demands of the crisis are immediate. We need your instructions on these counts at once. Therefore, in this letter, I shall confine myself to the questions of the moment. I expect your orders by return post or by wire<sup>3</sup> (if possible). The regular details will be sent to you in due course. Meanwhile, you may appreciate that we cannot wait in the dark.

As a result of the demonstrations and public meetings that we held throughout the Province in support of your recent statement,<sup>4</sup> the granite foundations of the house of the traitor have begun to quake. After all they are not so strong as they appeared to be. The first step in this direction was an invitation to tea issued by Moulvi Ghulam Mohayyuddin Qasuri, MLA. (I have remarked as to the delicious tea of this gentleman in one of my earlier letters. It was he who dubbed us as "semi-educated" while condemning our rural propaganda). We were seated side by side with the editors of the Unionist press. Threats, temptations and sermons were served with the utmost tact. I don't want to waste your time in superfluous details. The whole strain was that poor Sikander has done nothing. He is ready to submit to Jinnah, the tyrant. But if, God forbid, he were to challenge the League, can you imagine the terrible consequences? Our reactions were non-committal. We emphasised that if he succeeds in satisfying Quaid-i-Azam, we were with him. Perhaps this misled them to think that the prey was an easy one. The next day, Mir Maqbool was pleased to visit us. Now Sir Sikander wants to see us tomorrow.

In these circumstances you can imagine how direly we need your instructions.

Quaid-i-Azam, in my previous letter I assured you that in the last resort we shall anyhow obey you as our General. However, before you take any decision we may be allowed to make the following submissions:

- i. Now, for the first time, you have challenged the Unionist bluff. So far the issue has been avoided. But this time the public all over India has realised that it is Quaid-i-Azam versus traitors. If they succeed in hoodwinking here too, it will be an incurable shock to your prestige. We shall be thrown in an awkward position. In short, we submit most strongly that you must take the step you announced. Either

the traitors should resign the posts they have accepted without reference to you or they must be expelled from the League.

- ii. If you agree with our first submission, then it is evident that you shall have to take the citadel by storm. In this connection it might be in your knowledge that the Lahore City constituency has been declared vacant as a result of Mr. K.L. Gauba's insolvency. It is almost certain that the Punjab Muslim League Election Board will choose the Unionist candidate, Mian Amiruddin. He is in Government service (Sub-Registrar). But you are the final arbitrator. If you agree to come to Lahore and work with us in order to break the Unionist spell, we will set up a young man as a candidate. He will be given the League ticket by you and you will stay at Lahore for a while to see him elected. Victory is certain. Quaid-i-Azam, if you have at last made up your mind to break the shackles that have been hindering you, now is the time to strike when the iron is hot.

These suggestions are just to find out your inclination. If your reactions are favourable, we have a fully worked-out plan. This will be submitted to you in due course.

The last date for submitting applications is the 22nd instant. Moreover, Sikander is pressing us to declare that his expulsion will be a shock to Muslim solidarity. We cannot take our positions in relation to these issues unless we are first in receipt of your instructions. Therefore, please reply soon.

Yours truly,  
 MOHAMMAD ABDUSSATTAR KHAN NIAZI  
 M. A.  
*Secretary,*  
*Rural Propaganda Committee,*  
*Punjab Muslim Students' Federation*

<sup>1</sup>This letter which reached Jinnah on 12 August was subsequently referred to by Niazi as dated 9 August. See F. 1130/118, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Nos. 47 & 62.

<sup>4</sup>See No. 36, note 2.

## 47

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Abdussattar Khan Niazi*

*Telegram, F. 393/12*

*12 August 1941*

Your letter.<sup>1</sup> I stand firm by my statement.<sup>2</sup> This momentous issue involves not only prestige, reputation Muslim India and its organisation Muslim League but association League members with Viceroy's scheme contrary League decision policy has given severe blow to our cause which cannot be tolerated by any honest man.

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 46.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 36, note 2.

## 48

*Mazharuddin Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 874/179-82*

GOSHA MAHAL,  
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
*13 August 1941*

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Let us first pay our respectful thanks to you for the honour and privilege you accorded us of having a talk with you. In the course of discussion we felt that there was some misunderstanding in your mind as regards the Turkish State which you still seem to think as being founded upon true Islamic principles. You spoke of Turkey as not having violated the fundamental principles of Islam. To clear this misconception we have taken the liberty to address this letter to you.

In the first place, Turkey has unequivocally declared that it has no State religion which means, in practice, that it is not bound by the laws of Islam. Consistently with this declaration, it has adopted Swiss Code with regard to certain social problems, which by implication leads to the conclusion that it does not consider the Islamic Code to be sufficiently progressive to meet the requirements of a nation in



the altered conditions of modern life. This is a direct challenge to the authority of the *Qur'an* which, as you said, is the final legislative power in an Islamic State. Again it is well-known and clear beyond doubt that Islam looks with disfavour upon free [and] unrestricted social intercourse between men and women. The rigidity of the *purdah* system we, the Muslims of the middle class, observe need not be taken as truly Islamic for in many ways it is a clear violation of the principles laid down by the *Qur'an*, which allows women to go outside their homes not for purposes of recreation and social intercourse with men but for the express purpose of meeting their wants. Whatever it [may] be, this much is clear that Islam has clearly prohibited the free social intercourse of men and women which is a common feature of western life. Turkey has unmistakably violated this injunction. If it had relaxed the rigidity of *purdah* system, if it had developed its womanhood, given them education, and provided outlets for their social activities, there would have been no objection. But it has asked women to step out of their homes and work side by side with men in every walk of life. This is a clear violation of the authority of the *Qur'an*, for it is only in cases of grave emergencies, for example war, that Islam allows women to come out and freely mix with men. The fact is that this particular system (*purdah* system) has been made considerably elastic in Islam so as to meet every situation, whether of the individual or the nation. For example, Islam allows women to offer their prayers in mosques, but this is only a permission, and the Prophet [PBUH] has clearly told us that women who offer prayers in their homes are better than those who come to mosques for offering prayers. In this respect, Turkey has singularly failed to keep in line with Islamic notions of equality between men and women and has adopted western methods which conflict with the spirit of Islam.

Similarly, Turkey has rebelled against the authority of the *Qur'an* in respect of the punishment which should be meted out to drunkards, thieves and those guilty of adultery. Drinking is not legally prohibited in Turkey while the *Qur'an* has clearly told us that drinking is a great evil. Similarly, Turkey does not follow the Islamic method of punishing thieves and those committing adultery. The philosophy of punishment in Islam is directly opposed to that of the West. Islam acts on the principle that punishment should be resorted to very grudgingly and after the full and maximum proof of the guilt is forthcoming. Even if a slight loophole is discovered in the proof furnished or the evidence given, the guilty should be acquitted. But

once the guilt has been established beyond doubt, maximum punishment should be given so that it serves as a warning to all other people. Islam does not like to bundle thieves into a prison where they live isolated from the rest of the world—the State meeting their expenses of living as if they were guests and maintaining a whole paraphernalia of officers, wardens and jails—and then suddenly after three or four years release them and throw them upon society, which still regards them as criminals, so that finding no honourable means of living and cut off from the rest of society they quietly return to their guest-house to be a burden on the State after having picked pockets and committed other acts of burglary. It adopts the more simple process of cutting the hand of the criminal so that he is a perpetual warning to his fellow men of the consequences of theft and burglary.

Modern Turkey has here again refused to follow the laws of the *Qur'an*. In fine, we beg to submit that Islam does not allow its principles and laws to be tampered [with] and amended as it pleases the majority. The Muslim must obey the laws of Islam at any cost, whether or not they satisfy his reason and intellect. The operations of reason come in only when a particular situation arises, for which no clear injunction has been laid down in the *Qur'an* or in the traditions (*Ahadis*) of the Prophet [PBUH]. It is then that Muslim jurists sit down and through their powers of reason and intellect, try to discover adequate laws to meet the situation; but even here no law can be framed which is opposed to the fundamental principles or the spirit of Islam. Islam thus provides a basis for reason and intellect to operate upon [*sic*]. It does not allow human intellect to operate in a vacuum. This basis is the *Qur'an* and those of the traditions of the Prophet [PBUH] which have been adjudged by Muslim jurists as completely reliable. Thus does our religion combine and reconcile the principle of authority and the principle of liberty, the conflict [of which] has destroyed the soul of western civilization. Protestantism asserted the principle of liberty and brought forth democracy. Once again Europe is in revolt against the principle of liberty since the rise of Fascism involves the assertion of the principle of authority.

We hope you would excuse us for encroaching upon your time but we are anxious that you as the inspirer and guide of this generation of the Muslims should not say or do anything which runs counter to the true spirit of Islam.

Yours sincerely,  
MAZHARUDDIN SIDDIQI

[PS.] Herewith is attached a copy<sup>1</sup> of Iqbal's explanation about the position of Turkey for reference.

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

## 49

*Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

9 GARIAHAT ROAD,  
CALCUTTA,  
13 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must have received my wire<sup>2</sup> cancelling my previous letter.<sup>3</sup> The situation here changes from day to day and, therefore, I feel I ought to keep you informed. The latest situation is that Mr. Fazlul Huq has adopted a stiff attitude and refuses to think of resigning from the Defence Council. No useful purpose will be served by giving him arguments but the real cause of this attitude on his part is that he has felt the pulse of the MLAs and he thinks he will be able to remain in office even if the League Ministers and the League MLAs withdraw their support. Yesterday, some of us counted the number of MLAs on whom we can definitely count upon [*sic*] to withdraw their support if there is a League mandate to that effect. I regret to tell you that according to our calculation we shall not have more than 30 with us. The remainder will not risk going against the Ministry. By combining with Shamsuddin's group and the Scheduled-Castes, Mr. Fazlul Huq will be able to get more than 30 and at least 40 on his side. I believe he also relies on full support from H.E. [the Governor] and the European group who will naturally be with him on this question. As far as the general public is concerned, although, as I stated to you, 90 per cent are League-minded, yet in Bengal the position is different from the minority provinces. In the latter, the Muslims have nothing but the League whereas in Bengal, with a predominantly Muslim Ministry in power, allegiance to the League will, within a very short time, be renounced and only a few politically-minded Muslims in the *mofussil* will support the League. Besides, Mr. Fazlul Huq and his Cabinet will immediately launch an extremely anti-zamindar and pro-tenant legislation which will win him the support of the masses who are agriculturists and who are not yet sufficiently educated to understand what is good for



them in the long run. On top of this, the Defence of India Act and its rules will effectively prevent any extensive pro-League activity against the Ministry and when the Muslims of Bengal will be faced with the choice of going to jail for the sake of the League or supporting a Muslim Ministry with a pro-tenant policy, it is not difficult to imagine what the result will be. The League and all it has stood for will simply go to pieces. There is another factor which has placed the Leaguers at a great disadvantage just now. I cannot mention it in a letter but I shall tell you when I see you in Bombay.

The Muslim press is, so far, solidly pro-League and they are doing extensive propaganda in support of the League but I am afraid that if the Ispahanis give up the *Star of India* and I am not in office, then the paper will have to be closed. The Bengali daily, *Azad*, will be able to hold its own and will, I believe, also support the League policy, and so will *Asre Jadid*, the Urdu daily of Calcutta, but in my opinion they will not be able to influence the Muslims against the Huq Ministry.

The above analysis is a fairly accurate and true reading of the situation and it is for your information. We are extremely worried and do not know how this tangle can be solved. In yesterday's Associated Press report, the Assam Provincial Muslim League Working Committee [meeting], at which all the Muslim Ministers, including Sir Saadulla, were present, passed a resolution agreeing to abide by the League decision. This will, to a certain extent, counterbalance the report from the Punjab about expressing full confidence in Sir Sikander [Hyat Khan] and sending of a deputation to wait on you.

I hope to be in Bombay on the 23rd morning and will ring you up as soon as I arrive. If possible, please write to me giving me some indication of what you think about the whole situation.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
K. NAZIMUDDIN

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters 1936-41*, 287-90.

<sup>2</sup>Not traced.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 36.



## 50

*M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad*

*F. 395/6-7*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,

13 August 1941

Your Exalted Highness,

With regard to the matter of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, your Prime Minister Sir Akbar Hydari saw me in Delhi in the month of March last; and after hearing him I requested him to let me have copies of the speeches about which he complained to me and requested him that in the meantime the matter should not be precipitated, and he promised to let me have copies of the speeches of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung. As promised, I received the copies of the translation of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung's speeches with his covering letter, dated the 2nd of April 1941.<sup>1</sup>

After that I had to attend the sessions of the All India Muslim League at Madras and subsequently I was indisposed, and while I was at Nandi Hills, by arrangement, Mr. Taqiuddin was sent to me on behalf of your Government by Sir Akbar Hydari to explain to me further developments that had taken place and placed all the relevant papers up to that date before me. I wrote<sup>2</sup> to Sir Akbar Hydari informing him that I shall look into the papers, requesting him in the meantime and hoping that nothing further will be done to precipitate matters till I reach Bombay on or about the 10th of June 1941. Thereafter, it was arranged that on my return to Bombay, Sir Akbar Hydari would see me and discuss the matter further. Accordingly, Sir Akbar Hydari and Syed Abdul Aziz saw me at Bombay on the 22nd of June 1941, and after full and careful examination of all the papers I informed Your Exalted Highness by my letter of the 22nd [27th] June 1941<sup>3</sup> that the matter was fully discussed and examined by Sir Akbar Hydari, Syed Abdul Aziz and Mr. Taqiuddin, who was also present at the meeting, in more than two long interviews with me. I also informed Your Exalted Highness that before I finally tender my respectful advice to Your Exalted Highness, I thought I should have the opportunity of discussing matters personally with Your Exalted Highness and as I was to come to Hyderabad in connection with my own professional engagement, I requested Your Exalted Highness to fix up some time about the end of July for an audience. I

arrived in Hyderabad on the 29th of July 1941 and Your Exalted Highness was pleased to give me an audience.

After discussing matters fully with Your Exalted Highness, I have already submitted my suggestion for the solution of the somewhat difficult situation that has been created. I am enclosing herewith ■ copy of my suggestion<sup>4</sup> and I trust that it will be approved by all concerned. But, of course, it is for your Government and Your Exalted Highness finally to accept it, to reject it, or to adopt any other course that you may think proper. I have placed my suggestion entirely in the spirit of a detached individual as I was approached by your Government and as Your Exalted Highness has given me the privilege to give my opinion as ■ friend.

Thanking you for your very great courtesy and kindness, [and] with best wishes,

I remain,  
Yours very sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1,2&4</sup>Not traced.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 469, *JP*, XVI, 596.

## 51

*Shah Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 373/12-3*

MAMDOT VILLA, DAVIES ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
13 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of 9th August.<sup>1</sup> Over a week ago, I wrote a letter<sup>2</sup> to your Bombay address with regard to the by-election for the Inner Lahore (Muslim) Urban Constituency. There a Parliamentary Board [has been] formed, which consists of all the members of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial [Muslim] League, and 17th of August is fixed to consider and select one of the candidates to contest this election on Muslim League ticket. I have, so far, received applications from five candidates named below:

1. Khan Sahib Mian Amiruddin
2. Khan Bahadur Malik Mohammad Din

3. Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan
4. Mr. Aminuddin Sahrai
5. Mr. Farrukh Hussain, Bar-at-Law

As you have asked, I give my personal opinion for your information with regard to the chances of success of each of them.

No. 1, Mian Amiruddin, is the Financial Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and is the leading person among the Kashmiris who inhabit this Constituency in large numbers. Next to him stands Malik Mohammad Din whose followers and supporters are the Arains. These two candidates are the only persons who will beat any other candidate. I am arranging with them that if anyone of them gets the Muslim League ticket the other will withdraw in his favour and whole-heartedly support the one who is nominated by the Muslim League. They both have agreed to this, and I think if one of them is selected, no other candidate can beat him. On merits and strength of support, Mian Amiruddin is better than Malik Mohammad Din.

Out of the remaining three candidates, Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan and Aminuddin Sahrai have no chance at all. Mr. Farrukh Hussain also may get a few votes of his relations and friends but he too has given me the undertaking in writing that if he is not selected by the Board, then he will support the candidate nominated by the League.

I hear Mrs. K. L. Gauba (Independent) and Lal Din (Ahrari) are also going to contest but they are no match to Amiruddin or Mohammad Din. I will let you know the result of selection, and I hope you will kindly give your blessings to the candidate nominated by the Punjab Provincial Board. I hope to meet you on or before the 24th.

Yours sincerely,  
SHAH NAWAZ KHAN

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah had asked him to submit his proposals with regard to the by-election. See F. 373/11, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 25.



## 52

*Bahawal Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/168-70*

MANGHOWAL,  
GUJRAT,  
14 August 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I send herewith various cuttings of the Hindu journals, dated 15th [sic] August 1941.<sup>1</sup> The contents of these cuttings show how the Hindu mind reacts on the prospective meeting of the Working Committee in which the solidarity of the Muslim block in India would be the main issue. I have underlined in red, important passages. The trend and substance of these passages is that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan has converted the land of the five rivers [Punjab] into a virtual Pakistan and that during his regime of four years, he has reduced the Hindus and Sikhs to the hewers of wood and drawers of water by giving key posts to the Muslims. It is also a grievance that it is Sir Sikander Hyat who had deprived the Sikhs of their share in the expanded Council of the Governor-General and that Sir Firoz Khan [Noon's] appointment is due to his efforts. The Sikh Conference, held at Amritsar, has unanimously condemned Sir Sikander Hyat Khan for his pro-Muslim policy. The viewpoint of the Sikhs is that against six Hindus and Sikhs, the Muslims are entitled to two seats only but Sir Sikander Hyat Khan has secured three seats for the Muslims against five Hindus which is contrary to equity and justice according to their notion of political morality. What has been achieved in the Council is exactly what the Muslim League demands.

As it is apprehended that you would take disciplinary action against Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Moulvi Fazlul Huq, Nawab of Chhatari, Begum Shah Nawaz, Sir Sultan Ahmad and Mr. Aurangzeb Khan, the Hindu press is over-jovial but the average Muslim mind is groaning with the pain of the dreadful events that are likely to come over the heads of the Muslim India.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Punjab Premier is sending a deputation, consisting of Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz, Nawab Sir Mehr Shah, Mir Maqbul Mahmood, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, etc. [sic for *et al.*] These few notables are the persons who are the glory and honour of the Muslim League in the Punjab.

It is fervently hoped that your statesmanship would rise to the



occasion and the present tangle would be wisely solved and the Muslim solidarity would be saved at all costs.

Perhaps, a counter-deputation under the leadership of Mr. Barkat Ali would also wait on you, but I assure you that Malik Barkat Ali and company have absolutely no hold on the Muslim masses. They simply exploit the situation for their own personal ends. In the beginning, when the question of participation in the War Committees was under discussion, I had a long correspondence with you and you very kindly solved the problem most satisfactorily. I hope you will do the same in the present situation and save the Muslims from the awkward position. I cannot refrain from bringing to your notice the query put by a large number of the political prisoners of the Gujrat Jail to Mr. Gandhi asking his opinion as regards the use of violence against dacoits, whether a member of the Congress who is guilty of such use can retain his membership. You know what Mr. Gandhi said. He definitely said that by such deeds nobody can be turned out of the Congress; of course, his private advice is that such violence should not be used. Such is the Hindu politics. The Muslims should learn a lesson from them.

In the end, I pray for your long life and assure you that the whole Muslim India looks upon you as their sole saviour.

May you live long to serve the community and achieve its ideal of Pakistan,

Yours sincerely,  
BAHAWAL BAKHSH  
Zaildar

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

## 53

*Shakir Husain Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/166-7*

CONFIDENTIAL

41 MUMTAZ,  
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH,  
14 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you have received a telegram,<sup>1</sup> which I recently sent you, conveying the views of the students with regard to the present crisis

facing the Muslim League. About a fortnight ago, some students gave notice of a resolution to be moved in the Union, condemning the action of those members of the Muslim League who had joined the Viceroy's Council and the Defence Council without reference to the Muslim League and its leader, and assuring you of full support in whatever action you might take in this connection.

According to the constitution of the Union, previous approval of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, who is also President of the Union, is necessary for any resolution to [be] moved. I am sorry to inform you that though now it is about a fortnight and repeated requests have been made to him, he has kept the matter hanging. He neither disallows the resolution nor permits it to be moved. The students are thus being deprived of their legitimate liberty of expression of opinion which they have enjoyed so far. We, of course, do not want to precipitate any conflict on the issue and would abide by any advice which you may give us.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
SHAKIR HUSAIN KHAN  
Secretary,  
*Muslim University Union*

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah stated in reply that the matter was receiving his consideration. See F. 769/34, QAP.  
Not printed.

## 54

*Mahmuda Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/176-80*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
15 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just heard that some friends have been working to fix an interview for me this morning also. It is true I had asked for an interview until yesterday but when I realized your attitude, I repented having ventured in that direction at all. Your Secretary will be able to confirm that I went to the Guest House especially last evening to make it clear that if an interview was fixed now, I would refuse to avail [myself] of the opportunity. In spite of that, some

friends, I believe, made another attempt and let me know too late. However, what is done cannot be undone but it has taught me a great lesson, which will change my attitude and work politically and socially very vitally.

- i. I have learnt, Sir, that the courtesy and regard that the best of Muslims have for their women is nil.
- ii. That you have time only for those who are in the public eyes and, no matter how often you meet them or how tedious and long-winded their talk, it causes no strain on you. But one woman, no matter how unselfish the motive she comes with, how concise the talk or well-presented the case, is not fit to approach you. This is a unique attitude, because the world recognizes the fact that during illness or weakness, there is none better able to nurse than a woman.
- iii. You, Sir, who appeal to the intelligentsia and are known as their leader and not of the masses, I ask you: is this class only confined to those who hold high positions or are rich?
- iv. I had asked Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung to convey the message about the Berar and C.P. Muslim League, which needs your attention badly. I have had a message just now from Nawab Sahib who also tells me that you sent your *salaam*. I am treated as an ignorant person who is not fit to approach you and then expected to understand the implication.

You may rest assured I would not ask for an interview from you. I wish to tell you that my faith in the Muslims of India and their future has suffered tremendously and I shall try to devote my services to something that is worthwhile.

I suppose you will treat this letter as shabbily as you have treated me. Who knows the least may not be ignored with impunity. A Pathan once resolved can use his or her faculties whole-heartedly and vitally affect the course of events. I am afraid the intelligentsia among the Muslims is fast becoming Congressites. I do not wonder how.

May God guide you for the welfare of the Muslims and teach you courtesy and give you a sense of humour, is the prayer of an injured Pathan.<sup>1</sup>

[MAHMUDA KHAN]

<sup>1</sup>See No. 69 for Jinnah's reply.

## 55

*M. Iftikharullah to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/182-5*

THE FORT,  
RIHLU,  
KANGRA VALLEY,  
15 August 1941

Most revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Muslim public has already voiced its complete confidence in your leadership in the Punjab. The public in general and we young men in particular have keenly felt the betrayal of the Muslim League by the Premier and his followers and strongly feel that stern measures for their unprecedented affront are called for. I do hope that you would not be swayed by the ostensible cohesion of the Unionist Party.

Unionist Party is nothing but an adhesion of self-interests, liable to disintegrate in face of a real crisis. The Members of the Legislative Assembly can never afford to lose the sympathy and support of their constituency. They may, for the time being, think themselves to be secure in their seats because of the possible postponement of the election, but they cannot ignore the eventuality when they have to face the music. We should look to the future of the Muslim League rather than the present political power of the Unionists.

It is entirely up to you to punish disloyalty to the League cause in anyway you think fit. But we have a right to know from the Premier and Provincial League Executive as to what constructive work they have done so far in their regime.

Most revered, I feel ashamed to point out that the Provincial League is a body of lotus-eaters, who themselves do not want to work nor can see others working for the League cause. I suppose it is no secret for you that the Punjab Government has done everything possible to discourage the ever-growing and ever-increasing activities of the Muslim Students Federation. It is also known to everybody that the Unionist Party has purchased and gagged, on one pretext or the other, the local Muslim press.

I understand that a deputation from the Punjab is shortly to wait upon you. I do hope and pray that you would kindly inquire from them as to why they have not, so far, made the League a living force in the Punjab politics. Statistics from the Punjab League office would



bear me out that very few League branches have been opened in towns or villages. Moreover, the existing branches which wish to affiliate themselves with the Provincial League are never cared [for] by the Provincial League Executive. And it is a pity! In short, the whole organisation from [the] top to the bottom needs extensive overhaul and repairs.

In case you decide to weed out the harmful and disloyal elements, and I do hope that you would do it to liberate the poor Muslims from the yoke of these selfish persons from the Punjab, it will be necessary for you to spare your precious time for tour in our Province to make the public know of its lethargy and make the League a living organisation.

You can always rely on the youth, who will support you through thick and thin. Praying for your long life,

I am yours lovingly,  
M. IFTIKHARULLAH  
*Assistant Organising Secretary,  
Punjab Muslim Students Federation*

## 56

*Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 215/72-3

MELROSE,  
DALHOUSIE,  
15 August 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your kind letter, dated 9th August,<sup>1</sup> from Hyderabad, Deccan, to hand.

I have already sent to you from Lahore a letter<sup>2</sup> in connection with the Lahore by-election. Nawab Mohammad Shah Nawaz Khan, under orders from Sikander [Hyat Khan], has formed a Parliamentary Board<sup>3</sup> packed with Unionist followers of Sikander with the object of nominating, in the name of the League, a Unionist candidate.

The Unionist candidate is really Mian Amiruddin. This gentleman is a Sub-Registrar of Lahore, getting Rs. 500 a month from the Govt. He was defeated last time. He stood on the Unionist ticket. Now he will be given a League ticket by the local Parliamentary Board in which Unionists predominate.

The other candidate is Rashid Ali Khan, son of late Sir Zulfikar. He is also Sikander's man. He is utterly undependable and has no earthly chance, and I do not think that Sir Sikander will get him nominated. Nobody knows him in Lahore.

The best and real League candidate is Abdussattar Khan Niazi, M.A., President, Punjab Muslim Students Federation. He is a capital fellow and if you nominate him, his success is sure.

The other candidate is Mrs. [K. L.] Gauba. She has stood in order to defeat the Unionist candidate. She may seek the League ticket from you. Of course, the local Parliamentary Board would not nominate her.

As I have said above, Abdussattar Khan Niazi is the best and most genuine candidate. Your support of him will ensure his success. I am under you and will carry out your orders. So far as the Provincial Muslim League is concerned, it is, of course, Sir Sikander's show. Nawab Shah Nawaz is a good man but he cannot afford to stand against Sir Sikander's wishes. The Lahore by-election will be a capital opportunity of rehabilitating the League. More when I come to Bombay. The 22nd of August is the last day for withdrawal. 21st is the date for nominations. Do not give your ticket to anybody until the 22nd August has elapsed. By the 22nd August we shall know who are definitely the candidates. The election is in the last week of September.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. BARKAT ALI

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah had asked him to give his suggestions with regard to the by-election in Lahore.

See F. 215/71, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 29.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 51.

## 57

*Feroz ud Din & Others to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 770/101

AMRITSAR,  
15 August 1941

Dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Your honour has convened a meeting of the Working Committee

of All India Muslim League in Bombay on the 24th of August, 1941, to consider the action to be taken against Muslim League members of the Defence Council, if necessary. In this connection, we request that the solidarity and the interest of the Muslim community demand that no action may be taken at present against them and that such a formula may be formed out [sic] by which, keeping the principles of the League organisation intact, the Muslim Members of the Defence Council may perform their official duties entrusted to them by the Government.

We earnestly hope that your honour would very kindly accede to our earnest request which is made solely in the interest of the Muslim community.

Yours faithfully,

FEROZ UD DIN

*Pleader;*

*Secretary, Anjuman-i-Islamia*

AND 12 OTHER SIGNATORIES

## 58

*Haroon Khan Sultan Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/186-7*

35 VETAL PETH,

POONA,

15 August 1941

Most respected guardian of Islam,

I make bold to congratulate your most noble dignity [sic] on the stand taken against the Muslim League 'rebels'. We, the Muslims throughout Maharashtra, have full faith in your un-challenged leadership. The enemies of Islam are glad to see that men like Sikander [Hyat], [Fazlul] Huq and others are rebelling against the Muslim League. But I make bold to say that nothing will deter us from our only one legitimate demand of Pakistan.

All anti-Muslim parties are uniting under one leadership of [Tej Bahadur] Sapru. They have forgotten that they belong to Congress, Mahasabha, Liberal[s] and many others. They are bent upon opposing Pakistan. The other day Mr. Savarkar at Poona said that minorities shall have to remain minorities. They cannot make and unmake the constitution of India. Majority have [the] right to make

the future constitution for India.

In this event, when the enemies of Islam are uniting under one leadership of Mr. Sapru, may I then know from your most noble honour, what we young Muslims of twenty to twenty-two should do in spite of [sic] our services in the Government departments?

Thanking you in anticipation,

Your most obedient servant,  
HAROON KHAN SULTAN KHAN

## 59

*P. D. Dhole to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/189-94*

AMRAOTI, BERAR,  
16 August 1941

Dear Sir,

I take liberty to write this letter to you in my capacity as the representative of the non-Brahmin Hindus in Berar in order to say that unless you take up the cause of these non-Brahmin Hindus, the future of our children is very dark indeed! From what little I understand of the political situation obtaining at present in India, I must say that the fate and destiny of millions of the non-Brahmin Hindus in Berar are to be decided by the handful of Brahmin demagogues like Messrs. [Mahadev Srihari] Aney and [Dr. Balkrishna Sheoram] Moonje. The feelings of despair and frustration have overtaken us and we are reduced to the position of helplessness and impotency forcing us to inaction. The inclusion of Mr. Aney in Viceroy's E. C. [Executive Council] implies that we are thrown by the British Government to the wolves of Brahmanism and the future of our children are [sic for is] mercilessly sacrificed by the British Government at the altar of Hindu reaction. Mr. Aney's claims to decide the future constitution of Berar make it abundantly clear. Though the non-Brahmin Hindus in Berar are in overwhelming majority, they would be living only as hewers of wood and drawers of water yoked to the grinding wheel of soulless Brahmanism blessed by Mr. Aney with the requisite backing of the British Government in his unholy mission of overlordship over the lower Hindus as slaves of Hinduism. To us, Mr. Aney represents a relapse into barbarism of *peshwas* of Poona where atrocities committed over the non-Brahmins in the name of



Hindu religion and culture are historical facts.

The turban Mr. Aney wears on his head is a living symbol of our humiliation and shame, and the cruel tragedy of it is that he is proud of it with iron determination and audacity to continue it intact. The Brahmins occupy all the positions of power and prestige and the State services are theirs in the administration. It seems to me that the leadership of Messrs. Aney and Moonje has agreed to perpetuate the British domination which, in its turn, would maintain the Brahmins in their present positions of advantage in the name of Hindu majority. The slogans of Hindu majority and *Akhand Hindustan* are deceptions practised by reactionary Hindus to maintain their chains round our necks, and the British Government seems to be a conscious party to all these. The non-Brahmin Hindus in Berar are today caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. The Gandhian Congress, which is a handmaid of Hindu capitalism dancing to the tune of Bajajs and Birlas in Berar is nothing short of a weapon of our economic slavery while, on the other hand, these *peshwas* of Poona are forging chains of political and social slavery for us. Consequently, therefore [*sic*], our only alternative is the scheme of Pakistan under the leadership of Indian Kemal Pasha, who in his turn would base his theory on give-and-take policy. It is for you, Sir, to come to our help and free us from these gods on earth. Otherwise, whereto, [*sic* for to whom] are we to look [up] for the safety and happiness of our children which are threatened today by the dubious methods and practices of these enemies of human progress and prosperity, which these *peshwas* of Poona oppose in the name of Hindu gods and religion. Our anxiety is that by our inaction, our children would be treated like dogs and cats licking the feet of these caste-Hindus representing, as they do, the reaction and degeneration of freedom and democracy. Therefore, it is natural for us to welcome the scheme of Pakistan with the perspective of brotherhood of the Muslims and Hindus co-operating and collaborating for their mutual benefit and happiness. Will not, then, the Muslim League and its chief extend the hand of sympathy and friendship, which we need so much under the present critical times in our history? Pakistan must bring in its train the cure for our ills as well. We refuse to accept the right of these few reactionaries to gamble with our destinies and sell our birthright to foreign domination. Mr. Aney seems to play the overlord of Berar; and the British Government seems to have accepted it. It is not god that we want. What we want is the material prosperity of our children which cannot be done [*sic*] under the leadership of these reactionaries and demagogues.

Pakistan does not impose on us any obligation to accept Islam but *Akhand Hindustan* does force us to accept *Akhand* slavery of these caste-Hindus. Therefore, we choose the better one. The constitution of our Province must be the charter of our happiness, else it is a meaningless thing for us. Is Mr. Aney willing to grant the right of self-determination to the majority of the non-Brahmin Hindus? The answer is decisively in the negative. If that happens, he would not bear the turban of *peshwas* of Poona. Given the proper lead from you, we would fight shoulder to shoulder to the last ditch and the last drop of blood. But helpless as we are we stand in need of friendship and sympathy from our Muslim brothers. Pakistan must be the slogan of the freedom and happiness of all down-trodden. I hope and trust the Muslim League, under your inspiring leadership, would discuss and consider our proposal in all aspects and bearings. Pakistan must be the symbol of the brotherhood of all Indians whosoever choose to join it.

With best regards to yourself,

Yours fraternally,  
P. D. DHOLE  
*Bar-at-Law*

60

*Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/113-4*

CIVIL LINES,  
ALIGARH,  
16 August 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have already written to you about the dates for the [5th annual AIMS F] session but I missed one thing and that is about *'Id al-Azha*, which falls on the 29th of December. I am, therefore, suggesting 25th, 26th, and 27th of December for the session. There is one very important matter and that has just happened in Aligarh, the information of which will reveal to you the manner in which the free expression of opinion by the students is curbed by the authorities. It is painful to mention all the facts. Recently, some students gave a notice to move a resolution in the Muslim University Union, reiterating full confidence in you and condemning the action of those members

of the Muslim League who have joined the National Defence Council and the expanded [Executive] Council without consulting [with] and the permission of the [AIML] President. According to the rules, no resolution can be moved which has not received the permission of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, who is also the ex-officio President of the Union. Mr. Haleem is opposed to the League, ■ fact which everyone knows, but in the present case, he has acted in his own interests. He has adopted dilatory tactics and refuses to express any opinion. On being pressed, he takes the plea of consideration. The real fact is that his election falls next year. He does not want to lose the support of non-Leaguers, who are the members of the Court and he thinks that the League members too should be deceived. There is a great resentment amongst the students, but they find themselves helpless under the present circumstances. I am trying to arrange a meeting under the auspices of the Muslim Students Federation, but before doing it I want that all the Muslim students should become members of the organisation. I am excluding the paid agents of the Congress. But we are really sorry that the P.V.C. [Pro-Vice-Chancellor] should have behaved in the manner in which he has done.

He may succeed in not allowing a resolution to be moved but he has no power over our souls which we have given to you. We will stand with the League and its leader till the last drop of our blood.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD NOMAN  
[General Secretary,  
*All India Muslim Students Federation*]

## 61

*Hasan Reyaz to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

DELHI,  
16 August 1941

Dear Sir,

Your statement of July, the 21st<sup>2</sup> has been hailed by the Muslim press and the branches of the [Muslim] League all over the country as voicing the true feelings of the Muslim India. Even the Congress Muslim papers



held it as courageous. There are only two papers in the Punjab, *Inqilab* and *Shahbaz*, which are defending the betrayers as they are committed to support the Unionist Ministry. But they too are apologetic.

I am very grateful to you for the prompt action you took on my letter of June 30<sup>3</sup> by drawing the attention of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan towards bringing out the paper you so generously call mine. It had the desired effect. He came down here from the hills in the third week of the last month. We together discussed all the details and agreed on all the points. Since then, I am busy making preparations according to the agreed plan to bring out the *Dawn*. I hope you would like the name I have given to our paper, as it is fully in keeping with your point of view. It does not smack [of] Hindu-Muslim [word missing].

I have already applied to the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi for permission to file the declaration. I hope that the first issue of the *Dawn* will be out in the first week of October.

But now I see that Nawabzada Sahib has put the matter of starting an English weekly on the agenda to be considered by the Working Committee. I feel a little disconcerted at it as it goes to show that the matter is yet to be decided which I thought had already passed that stage. Certainly, I am no authority on matters of procedure but this I know, for certain, that *Manshoor* had not been considered as a proposition by the Working Committee. Of course, I can have no objection to his throwing the matter open before the Working Committee for discussion and consideration even at this stage when, with the permission of Nawabzada himself, I am at the point of inviting the proposed staff to take charge of their duties; yet, I wonder, why this new procedure for the *Dawn* after the final approval of the President, who has much wider powers to take initiative in any direction he deems proper, than he or the Secretary had at the time the Central Office started *Manshoor*.

I hope my suggestion concerning the meeting of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Provincial Leagues has, by now, developed into a practical proposition through your attention, which it is receiving. I am sure it would be very helpful in strengthening the organisation and in creating uniformity in the work of the provinces as it would bring all the responsible workers of the League into closer touch with each other under your guidance and provide them with an opportunity to solve their difficulties and problems that are confronting them by mutual advice based on their practical experience of the work in their various provinces; it would also enable you to give definite instructions, you deem necessary, to men responsible



for the actual work in the provinces in this small and compact gathering in the light of the first-hand information you would receive from them.

A circular<sup>4</sup> ought to be issued some time earlier by the Central Office to all the Secretaries of the provinces to collect and bring with them all the possible information about the League work in their provinces and the necessary data.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
HASAN REYAZ

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 291-3.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 7, note 1.

<sup>3</sup>No. 475, JP, XVI, 603-5.

<sup>4</sup>See AFM 325/1 & 4-5.

## 62

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Abdussattar Khan Niazi*

*F. 393/13-4*

*17 August 1941*

Dear Mr. Niazi,

I am in receipt of your letter without date<sup>1</sup> and in reply I sent you a wire<sup>2</sup> on the 12th of August 1941 as follows:

*[Telegram omitted]*

You wired<sup>3</sup> asking me whether you could release my telegram and I wired back<sup>4</sup> requesting you not to do so at present and await my letter. In my telegram, I have not said anything new except what has already been published in the press.<sup>5</sup> I do not wish to be misunderstood that I am a party to stirring up opinion against Sir Sikander Hyat Khan or any of the erring members. I want the public to express themselves and act with perfect freedom.

Now with regard to your letter and what you call "the question of the moment," I do not see why you must be saying that "we cannot wait in the dark". I think that I have made our position absolutely clear and we have decided to take disciplinary action against those who have gone against the League decision and its general policy. The [Muslim League] Working Committee is going to meet on the 24th of August, and we can only proceed against them according to our constitution. I am fully alive to your views and of various other Muslim League organisations, and of the prominent men and women, and I hope that the Working Committee will come to the right decision,

without favour or fear, wholly and solely in the interest of the cause for which we stand and in the interest of Muslim India generally.

As to your second point about the by-election in the Lahore City Constituency, the matter is under my consideration and I am in communication with Nawab Sahib of Mamdot and Mr. Barkat Ali. I believe they are both coming to Bombay on the 23rd and we shall carefully consider what should be done in the matter, and please let me know the name of the candidate that you would like to have.

Please let me know, therefore, your views on the subject.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

PS. Since writing this, I am informed today that nomination day is 21st of August and withdrawal day 22nd August. In view of this information it is not possible perhaps to finally decide as I have not got all the information I want and time is short and I cannot express any definite opinion. Therefore, it would be open to you or anyone else to put in your nomination. So far as I am concerned, I am not committed in any way.

<sup>1</sup>No. 46, note 1.

<sup>2</sup>No. 47.

<sup>3</sup>F. 1130/120, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>F. 1130/121, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>5</sup>See No. 36, note 2.

## 63

*Shah Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 373/16-7*

MAMDOT VILLA, DAVIES ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
17 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your telegram<sup>1</sup> received today. As already intimated to you in my previous letter,<sup>2</sup> a meeting of the Provincial Parliamentary Board, consisting of all the members of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, was held today at 10.30 a.m. After considering the merits of all the five candidates, named in my previous letter, it was unanimously decided to adopt K.S. Mian Amiruddin as the Muslim League candidate for the Inner

Lahore (Muhammadan) Urban Constituency.

I received your telegram this morning, directing me to withhold announcement till I meet you in Bombay. In obedience to your wishes, the announcement has not been made, but I respectfully submit that it is very necessary that the name of the League candidate be announced immediately after the scrutiny of the nomination papers on 22nd because 23rd August is the last date for withdrawal. As I have already informed you, all the candidates have signed and handed over to me the withdrawal forms and have undertaken to support the candidate nominated by the Muslim League. If the announcement is not made before the date of withdrawal, all the candidates will have to contest election or forfeit their securities, which would be very unfair to them and also to the candidate adopted by the League, who will have to fight election unnecessarily.

Under the circumstances, mentioned above, I would request you to kindly telegraphically communicate your approval in favour of the candidate selected by the Provincial Parliamentary Board after full consideration of his merits as the most influential and respected Muslim of Lahore whose success in this election is sure and certain. He is an enthusiastic Muslim League worker, and is not only the Financial Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League but [also] a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League since 1924.

Yours sincerely,  
SHAH NAWAZ KHAN

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah advised him to let all those who had filed their nomination papers remain in the field and that the Muslim League would announce its candidate after full consideration. See F. 373/18, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 51.

## 64

*A. M. Lakhani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 567/1-3*

BHAVNAGAR,  
17 August 1941

Dear Sir,

I am writing this letter with ■ good deal of hesitation. I have studied your movements, your thoughts on politics, your capacities and what not. I have a great respect for your foresightedness in



Indian politics. And I know, where I am. I have no right to make suggestions to you. Still the thought in my mind is too strong to resist. And in spite of my knowledge that whatever I will suggest to you in the following few lines might not have passed your notice, I am writing this letter with a view to suggest a few things which have occurred to my mind. I hope you will please excuse me for the same.

Recently, I have observed from the discussions in the House of Commons on India, and especially from the last one, that the scheme of Pakistan is not finding favour with the Englishmen. I know that perhaps they have more to fear from the Muslims than from the Hindus. I also know that the British politician is too shrewd not to see the implications of Pakistan. But when all is said about British diplomacy and its power to tackle Indian problems, the fact remains that the scheme of Pakistan has not been put before the English people in all its aspects and the case is worse so far as the Americans are concerned. After all, England and America are democratic countries and the public opinion has much to do with the Government. So in my humble opinion, the Muslim League should now start a propaganda campaign in England and America in right earnest. The Muslim League should hold meetings, issue pamphlets, observe weeks, and do all the systematic propaganda work to popularise the scheme of Pakistan. This can only be done by repeated and powerful propaganda work in those countries. Propaganda is a more powerful weapon nowadays than a tank or a Spitfire.

So if the League takes it upon itself to start a propaganda campaign in England and America, I have a few suggestions to make in order that it may be more effective. They are as follows:

1. The League should issue instructions to all its branches in British India and to similar bodies in native States to gather all the examples of Hindu atrocities and evil effects on the Muslims, of Hindu rule, and thus prepare a charge-sheet against the Hindus of the province or the State concerned and submit the same to the Central Office of the League.

2. That a committee be appointed to inspect the matter collected by the provincial bodies etc. and verify the same and arrange it in an effective manner.

3. That all such reports be published [and] arranged in alphabetical order on geographical lines [sic].

4. That two groups of a select few capable of good speech be sent, one to England and the other to America. These people will start a systematic campaign to popularise the scheme taking as its basis the conclusion arrived at from the evidence gathered of the



Hindu *raj*.

These are a few suggestions coming from an humble student of Muslim and Indian politics. I know there are many practical difficulties in the way. The condition of war in the West, the limitations of the League, the question of finances, and above all the scarcity of fit men, are all the big obstacles difficult to surmount. But still [*sic*] however, I am putting my thoughts before you for due consideration. You know much more than anybody and I leave them up to you to deal with them in whatever manner you choose.

Wishing you ■ long and healthy life,

I beg to remain ,  
Your most humble servant,  
A. M. LAKHANI  
President,  
*Bhavnagar State Muslim League*

## 65

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/115-6*

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,  
MUSSOORIE,  
17 August 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mr. Fazlul Huq's statement of the 15th<sup>1</sup> appeared in the papers today. I have sent the enclosed statement to the press in reply to it. I hope it meets with your approval. I sent you a letter on the 4th<sup>2</sup> to your Bombay address, to which I have not had a reply so far. I hope it has reached you. In that [letter] I had stated that I shall reach Bombay on the 23rd morning by Frontier Mail and that if you wanted me to arrive there earlier than the 23rd, do kindly let me know. I am leaving for Delhi tomorrow, the 18th, and shall be there till I leave for Bombay.

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping well. With our kindest

regards to both of you and love from Ashraf and Akbar,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN  
[Honorary Secretary,  
All India Muslim League]

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, note 2, 280.

<sup>2</sup>No. 10.

*Enclosure*  
*Statement by Liaquat Ali Khan*  
*F. 1092/117-9*

CENTRAL OFFICE,  
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,  
DARYAGUNJ,  
DELHI,  
[17 August 1941]

I read with great astonishment the statement of the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, dated the 15th, regarding the proposal to take disciplinary action against those members of the Muslim League who have associated themselves with the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the so-called National Defence Council.

He has described the action of the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in coming to the decision that it was a fit case for disciplinary action against the erring members of the League as unconstitutional. It appears that the Premier of Bengal, who is the President of the Provincial Muslim League, has not taken the trouble of studying the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League and its resolutions that have been passed from time to time.

It is the sacred duty of the President and the Secretary of an organisation to see that discipline is maintained in the organisation, its decisions followed and its policy carried out, and any breach of discipline or actions contrary to the decisions and the policy on the part of its members are brought to the notice of the proper executive authority and suitably dealt with. If any office-bearer fails in his duty in this matter or glosses over the matter because the offender happens to be a person of some importance and status, then he is not worthy of the office he holds. As a matter of fact the offence is aggravated if the offending person is a man of status and occupies a prominent place in the organisation because the rank and file look

up to him for setting a high standard of discipline and sense of duty and loyalty to the organisation to which he belongs.

Section 28 (2) of the Constitution definitely empowers the Working Committee "to take disciplinary action against individual members of the Council of the All India Muslim League who violate the decisions of the League or act in contravention of its aims and objects, subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League". The President, having come to the conclusion that some members have violated the decisions of the League and have acted in contravention of its policy, has rightly convened a meeting of the Working Committee to consider what action it should take in the matter.

As a matter of fact, the President could have taken any action on his own without calling the Working Committee under the provisions of Resolution No. 7,<sup>1</sup> passed at the last annual session of the All India Muslim League, which gives him very wide powers "to take every necessary action or steps in furtherance of and relating to the objects of the Muslim League as he may deem proper". But Mr. Jinnah, as President of the League, has always acted as the constitutional President and he has never exercised his individual judgement without the consent and approval of the Working Committee and the Council although on many an occasion, the Executive<sup>2</sup> delegated its powers to him. I can personally vouchsafe [*sic* for vouch] for this as I have had the honour of being the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League since 1936.

Mr. Fazlul Huq complains that the decision has been taken *ex parte* to oust him. May I point out that, so far, no disciplinary action has been taken and no decision arrived at. A decision will be taken at the meeting of the Working Committee on the 24th, and in my letter, which I have issued to the members concerned on the 4th, I have stated that every opportunity will be given to them to represent their point of view either in writing or in person before the Working Committee takes a decision in the matter. In view of this Mr. Fazlul Huq is not justified in stating that any decision has been taken *ex parte*.

Mr. Fazlul Huq states that he proposes to have the whole question discussed in an open session of the League. He should know that no special session of the League can be convened at the request of an individual, however big he may be. It is only for the Council to convene a special session under Section 16 of the Constitution, which lays down that "the Council may convene a special session of the League at such suitable time and place as it may determine;

provided that not less than 50 members of the Council of the League shall call in writing on the Honorary Secretary of the League to hold such ■ session." If Mr. Fazlul Huq wants a special session of the League, let him follow the line of action laid down in the Constitution. In the meantime, the Executive must do its duty and see that discipline is maintained in the League and its decisions are respected.

<sup>1</sup>AFM 239/108. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Refers to All India Muslim League Working Committee.

## 66

*Secretary, Anjuman-i-Islamia, Punjab to Liaquat Ali Khan*

*F. 770/108*

LAHORE,  
18 August 1941

Sir,

I am directed by the Executive Committee of the Anjuman-i-Islamia Punjab, Lahore, to bring to your kind notice the following resolution, passed at its meeting held today, the 18th August 1941.

The Anjuman-i-Islamia Punjab, Lahore, the oldest premier Muslim organisation of the Punjab, while placing full confidence in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, earnestly requests the Quaid-i-Azam, the Premiers concerned and the members of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to make every possible effort to avoid rupture between the League and the Muslim Premiers of the provinces and to maintain Muslim solidarity. The Anjuman is of the opinion that, with goodwill on both sides, it should not be difficult to reconcile the best interests of the Muslims of all the provinces. The Anjuman is further of the opinion that any rupture between the Muslim Premiers and the League at this juncture will be highly detrimental to the Muslim interests. The Anjuman strongly condemns the action of certain sections of the press and of certain Muslims who are trying to create ■ split between the ranks of the Muslim League and are thus playing into the hands of its enemies.

Yours sincerely,  
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]



## 67

*Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

HASNAIN MANZIL,  
GAYA,  
18 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You may have seen in the papers that the Bihar Govt. has administered ■ second slap to us by proscribing our unpublished and unprinted report on Bihar Sharif riots. I fear that the docile policy of our Provincial M[uslim] League is partly responsible for the increasing harshness. As recently as the 3rd instant, our Working Committee tamely submitted to the banning of all meetings about the Bihar riots. The Muslim masses are restive and are ready to follow us if we take direct action. But if we fail to take effective steps, the League will lose its popularity. I, therefore, venture to suggest that our President should be called at the time of your W[orking] C[ommittee] meeting.

The whole of Bihar is solidly behind you in the disciplinary action which you propose to take. But we feel that the purge should be complete and should include all those sitting on the fence and wavering in their allegiance to the League.

I shall reach Bombay on the 23rd instant and will call at your place in the afternoon to report in detail on the Bihar situation.

With best wishes and respects,

I remain,  
Yours sincerely,  
HOSSAIN IMAM  
[Member, AIML Working Committee]

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 294-5.

68

*Akram Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/207-8*

50 JAGAT NARIAN ROAD,  
LUCKNOW,  
20 August 1941

Sir,

I have carefully read all the recent utterances of Mr. Fazlul Huq<sup>1</sup> and studied and appreciated the statements issued by you<sup>2</sup> and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.<sup>3</sup>

The public is fully conscious of your deep sincerity, your sacrifices and above all your far-sightedness as a statesman. The Muslims also very well understand that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Begum Shah Nawaz, Nawab of Chhatari and all the gentlemen who have joined the so-called National Defence Council, have all proved themselves to be first-class traitors to the Muslim nation as a whole.

Muslim masses are now awake and they can well distinguish between what is genuine and what is counterfeit. This incident, at least, has opened their eyes and they now ardently await your right decision. They shall be pleased to see that such honourable leaders are expelled from our organisation and be allowed no further to pollute our League programme and deceive the whole public.

As a university student (Lucknow University) I can assure you that students' entire sympathy is with you; we have full confidence in you and trust that whatever step you shall have to take against all these gentlemen would be right and most proper. It is our prayer that they must, at least, be deprived of membership of the League Council, of its Working Committee, or of holding any office.

You are God's blessing to the Muslim India and we pray 'Long live our Quaid-i-Azam.'

Most obediently yours,  
AKRAM UDDIN AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>See No. 65, note 1.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 7, note 1.

<sup>3</sup>Enclosure to No. 65.

69

*M. A. Jinnah to Mahmuda Khan**F. 874/200**20 August 1941*

Dear Miss Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th of August,<sup>1</sup> and owing to pressure of work I was not able to reply to it earlier. I am extremely sorry that you feel that I did not give you an opportunity to meet me. I do not know who is responsible for trying to fix up the interview on my behalf with you and finally tell you that I could not see you. You know I had come there for an express object and I was not well and I refused to see many people not because I did not want to see them but because I was really not well. I am afraid you are under a wrong impression altogether when you say that I only see the big people. You know perfectly well that when I was there last time, I gave the opportunity to everybody and you had more than one interview with me. I was well then and was able to meet people to discuss matters with them.

I hope you will remove any wrong impression that you may have got from some people who tried to speak on my behalf in ■ manner that may have created a bad impression upon you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 54.

70

*Fatma Begum to M. A. Jinnah**F. 770/117-9*

LAHORE,  
*20 August 1941*

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope your goodness knows the present conditions of Punjab Muslim League or will know it in a few days. I, the most sincere and faithful worker of the Muslim League, am doing all that is in my

power for the uplift of League's cause and would be doing, to your order, till the last breath.

I have been elected a member of the Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim League. Having attended three or four meetings, I have come to realise that little is being done for the attainment of League's programme. The Unionists dominate the Leaguers. If it could be so arranged that Nawab of Mamdot should whole-heartedly work for the League, and remove the ban of [sic] the Unionists, we can become more powerful.

In the last meeting, while a resolution of confidence in the Quaid-i-Azam was passed, a similar resolution of confidence in Sir Sikander Hyat was also passed, of which there was no necessity, and neither was that the proper time for passing such a resolution of confidence in Sir Sikander. The thing was that true Muslim Leaguers were far less in number than those who were both Leaguers and Unionists. I wish that all the members in the Working Committee should be true Leaguers.

I am helping Muslim Students Federation to establish committees of the League in those districts in which they have not, so far, been established. We have sent many young men for this purpose. We intend to do some solid work but now who should help us, comes forward [sic]. I assure you that I am helping with what little money I can afford. I am sure that the League is on the way to our destination.

I wish to entrust my college and its building to the League. In this, I want to consult you. The building is worth Rs. 50,000. I will gladly serve the college throughout my life. I think this will bring more of kind attention and patronising from some more generous hearts.

The Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim League has selected [Mian] Amiruddin for the election of the Assembly. I personally went to Mr. Amiruddin and requested him to work sincerely for the League's cause. He has taken an oath to do so. Nawab of Mamdot too is of the opinion that the ticket should be given to Amiruddin. He has served the League, especially his brother has done a great service for the cause of the League. Mrs. Gauba has not served the League. She is not even a member of the League. In spite of all this, we are duty-bound to your command and will vote for the man your goodness selects. Had I the expenses to fight the election, I would have been the most rightful claimer [sic for claimant] of the ticket, but I have so much to



do for the college and for the League that I cannot fight the election.

Always at thy command,

Sincerely yours,  
FATMA BEGUM

[PS.] Please convey my compliments to Miss Fatima Jinnah and Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim.

## 71

*H. Maurice Lancaster to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/214-5*

TAJ MAHAL HOTEL,  
BOMBAY,  
21 August 1941

Dear Sir,

I have recently arrived in India to make a film for the March of Time, an American film organisation, which has built up a considerable reputation by treating world topics of a controversial nature in an objective manner. These films are circulated in over ten thousand American cinemas.

In India, our aim will be to show fairly the true position today; introducing to American audience the people of India and their leaders in the present situation, and telling, by running commentary, their objectives and their point of view.

The work and purpose of the Muslim League will, of course, form an important section of this film. I read that you are to preside over a meeting of the Working Committee in the next few days, and it seems to me to be a good opportunity of getting you all together. Would it be possible for me to come to one of the sessions with my cameraman for half an hour? The work of the meeting should be in no way disturbed, for the film will be silent and we should not want you to pay any attention to the camera.

In the event of your wanting fuller information, I should be pleased to call on you at your convenience;<sup>1</sup> and anyway I hope it will be possible for me to see you before I leave India in November, so that I may learn first-hand your views on the situation and avoid any chance of misrepresentation.

I should like to make [it] quite clear that I have no affiliation with any party or creed in this country; and my sole purpose is to obtain a fair [and] unbiased picture of conditions in India today.

Yours faithfully,  
H. MAURICE LANCASTER  
*Director of Production,  
The March of Time*

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied offering to assist him in his mission and to meet him as well. See F. 498/13, QAP. Not printed.

## 72

*Anonym to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/120-2*

BOMBAY,  
22 August 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

Sir Sikander and Fazlul Huq have the brazen-facedness, call it audacity, to contend that they have participated in the so-called Defence Council as Premiers in their official capacity. Why do they forget that they could assume their premiership only by votes of the Muslim electors? Why do they forget that they are responsible to the public and not to Government? They should not have done anything detrimental to the public interest.

Their plea, as you have recently stated, is only an afterthought. As representatives of the public in the legislature, [I] mean the Muslim public, they could refuse the offer which they so readily welcomed. It is but for their self-aggrandisement and selfish motives that they have been prompted to accept a job which a majority of their electors do not approve of. They have thereby betrayed a public trust, and in doing so they have also deviated from the line of action chalked out by the only representative body of the Muslims. This necessitates a disciplinary action to be taken against them. They must be brought to book for their misdemeanour. They should be asked to tender their resignation from the said Council within a specified period, say a fortnight or so, failing which they will *ipso facto* be deemed to have ceased to be the members of the Muslim League.

These (responsible?) members of the All India Muslim League Working Committee outwardly play the role of Dr. Jekyll but are, inwardly, worse than Mr. Hyde.<sup>1</sup> They try to play the double game—running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. Their double-facedness should no longer be tolerated.

Pray, Quaid-i-Azam, exert your authority. Let your words carry some weight. Let the non-Leaguers not think of the whole show to be a farce. Let them not chuckle over your defeat. Defeat—this word should not exist in your dictionary. We all hope that you [will] acquit yourself [well] and face the storm of opposition triumphantly.

Be sure, Quaid-i-Azam, the entire Muslim India is at your back. Musalmans have full confidence in you. You have to mould their destinies. Their fate depends entirely on your way of action.

If, however, you think it expedient to conclude an honourable—an honourable—settlement, well, we cannot challenge your decision for, we know, if you go aright, we have to follow you and if you err, we also must err. Such is your leadership. We have to follow your dictates. We are fully aware of your selflessness. Actions are judged only according to motives, says the Prophet [PBUH].

Trust in God, keep up the prestige of the Muslim nation and the Muslim League and do the right. Succour from God and victory is yours.

Yours fraternally,  
[UNSIGNED]  
*A Jinnahite*

<sup>1</sup>Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde represent the good and evil personae, respectively, of the same fictional character in Robert Louis Stevenson's story, *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*.

## 73

*Anonym to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/140-2*

BOMBAY,  
22 August 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With all the respect that you command, I beg to put these few words for your consideration.

I beg to draw your attention, Sir, to the latest stunt of Sir Sikander



and some other members of the All India Muslim League. These persons have not only violated the very principle of the organisation to which they belong but have gone to the extent of challenging the authority of the undisputed leader of a nation of ninety million and that of his cabinet [*sic* for Working Committee]. This is not the first time, Sir, that these black sheep in the Muslim League camp are seen in their true colours. You and your cabinet have times without number in the past overlooked the matter when such an occasion arose and it is due to this that today they are not afraid of doing the worst deed in broad daylight.

Whatever your position may become in the meeting that is to be held on the 24th, whether the members of the Working Committee stand by you or not, I hope you will not budge an inch from the stand that you have taken and will remain like a rock in the midst of all the troubles. If you are misled this time by the cunning persuasion and treachery of the evil flatterers and traitors and fail to take the proper action against the members that have joined the Viceroy's expanded Executive Council and the so-called National Defence Council, I am afraid the Muslim League will lose all the honour and prestige that she [*sic* for it] holds among the masses.

Some of the well-wishers (!) of the Musalmans shout at the top of their voice that if disciplinary action is taken against the members concerned there will be a big split in the Muslim ranks and its consequences will be very bad. This is nothing but an evil propaganda which may succeed in preventing you from doing your right duty. Never think for a moment, Sir, that if Sir Sikander and some others are dispelled [*sic* for expelled] from the League the latter will die. I remember a sentence from the statement that you issued the other day that "men may come and men may go but the League will live".

Lastly, I may assure you, Sir, that the masses are solidly with you. The respect that is given to Sir Sikander, Sir Saadulla, Sir [Sultan] Ahmad and Mr. Huq is due to the All India Muslim League. The moment these title-holders and job-seekers are driven away from this organisation of nine crore Musalmans of India they will be pooh-poohed by them. They will get the support of none except those few who flatter them for their personal gain. The sinners may, for a time, win over the sympathy of the aristocrat but not that of the poor which [*sic* for who] form the backbone of a nation. They may succeed in getting for themselves ■ passport to the favours of the Government but what good the community can expect from such



persons who change their coats every now and then?

Unfortunately, for the Muslims of this country, there is a scarcity of selfless workers among them. The majority of the leaders who have sprung amidst them are always in search of their own benefits, and they do not hesitate to sacrifice the interests of the community if they get a chance to do a little good to themselves.

Sir, this is the last and the best chance for you to purify the Muslim League and remove the diseased element from her [*sic* for it]. I hope that you will not miss it and will give a proper punishment to the sinners.

A sincere well-wisher of the Muslim League,

[UNSIGNED]

*A college student*

## 74

*S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 304/110*

ISMAIL MANZIL,  
PATNA CITY,  
22 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already sent you full and detailed information with the resolutions of the Working Committee meeting held on the 3rd August under registered cover, acknowledgement due, which cover has already reached you on the 17th August.

With my letter dated 27th July<sup>1</sup> I have sent you copies of my statement and comments.

Today, I am sending you another statement on Bihar Government's attitude and policy towards Muslim League.

If convenient and [if there is] no objection, please acknowledge and also communicate decision of your Working Committee on the reference made by us. Hossain Imam and S. M. Latifur Rehman will, I am sure, give [you] further details.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

S. M. ISMAIL

<sup>1</sup>No. 539, JP, XVI, 685-7.

*Enclosure**S. M. Ismail to Editors, Searchlight and Indian Nation**F. 304/111-2*

ISMAIL MANZIL,  
PATNA CITY,  
22 August 1941

I feel bound with a full sense of responsibility and in all consciousness to publicly express the strong feeling of resentment and great indignation which the Muslim community in Bihar feels against the attitude and the present policy of the Government of Bihar in interfering with the legitimate and constitutional activities of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League and of the Musalmans. In spite of the fact that the Muslims throughout have in no way embarrassed Government and never intended even remotely to put any obstacle in the intensification of the war measures, rather its individual members have been most helpful in co-operating with the authority in all war efforts, it is to be regretted that in spite of such peaceful behaviour of the Muslims and in spite of the fact that they were the victims of brutal outrages committed in the Bihar Sub-Division, they, instead of receiving sympathetic and just consideration, have been indifferently treated. The resentment is getting deeper and there is bound to be a serious repercussion unless the Government act with wisdom and reasonableness and do not go on continuing [*sic* for committing] blunder after blunder by the abuse of the powers vested in them under the Defence of India Act 1939 and the rules made thereunder. The responsibility for dissatisfaction and the present state of feeling against them is due to the follies of the Government committed one after the other since June last. To begin with, (1) they have interfered with the liberty of the press and the freedom of the newspapers when they demanded ■ heavy security from a Muslim Urdu newspaper published from Patna bearing the name *Muslim League*; (2) the Government have rejected the Muslim demand of having all Bihar riot cases tried by a special tribunal to be set up under section 9 of the Defence of India Act; (3) when the Muslims constitutionally and rightly decided to observe a day for expressing their just and reasonable grievances and for expressing [*sic*] the redress[al] of the wrongs done in a most peaceful and constitutional way, they were told that the right and liberty of citizenship were denied to them, [and] the so-called inherent powers under the

Defence of India Rules were applied on the plea of the maintenance of law and order; (4) the last crowning blunder of the abuse of the Defence of India Rules culminated in Government asking the Bihar Sharif Enquiry Committee to submit their findings and reports under Rule 40, sub-rule 1, to Government for what no one knows and why. There can be no justification for abuse of all these rules. They have already created causes for reasonable resentment and I must publicly warn the Government that unless they mend their ways there is sure to be a serious repercussion, the intensity of which can hardly be imagined. But is it any use warning Government which is irresponsible and overwhelmed with the weapons in their armoury. Whatever may be the satisfaction of the Government they must know that the public in general and the Muslim public in particular disapproves of their way of indifferently treating the Muslims' just [and] reasonable demands and in trying to suppress them by vicious powers. If Government is adamant so will be Muslim public, unless they make amends.

S. M. ISMAIL

## 75

*Abdurrazaaq Inamdar to M.A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/221-2*

RAZAQIA LIBRARY, BELGAUM,

*22 August 1941*

Sir,

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay Presidency will arrive here on the 26th instant. His Excellency has sent invitation cards to prominent persons, merchants, leaders, as well as civil and military officers of Belgaum, to attend a tea party on 27th instant. The number of invited persons is two to three hundred. I received an invitation from His Excellency the Governor of Bombay Presidency to attend the above-said tea party as a merchant leader.

I was also beforehand asked by the Collector of Belgaum whether I shall attend the said tea party or not. I informed the Collector of Belgaum that if you [he] invite me as a leader or President of Muslim League, [Belgaum], I wish not to attend. I would occasionally attend the party as a merchant or a gentleman of the city.

The Musalman population of Belgaum District is one lakh and twenty thousand, and twelve thousand of Belgaum City and Cantt. Only 6 or 7 Musalmans, among the above said population, are invited for the said tea party.

I had asked Haji Noormahamed Sheikh, the Secretary of Bombay Provincial Muslim League, whether I should attend the said tea party. He informed me that you [sic] cannot attend the said tea party. There is no objection to attending the tea party as a private individual. I am not satisfied by [sic for with] the reply.

I hope you will be kind enough to let me know<sup>1</sup> by wire as soon as you receive this letter, whether I should attend the said tea party or not. The postal stamps are herewith enclosed for telegram.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble and oblige,

Yours faithfully,  
ABDURRAZAAQ INAMDAR

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah advised him not to attend the tea party. See F. 998/8, QAP. Not printed.

## 76

*Kabir Ahmad to M.A.Jinnah*

*F. 1099/234-6*

PERSONAL

ROSHAN MAHAL,  
PASTA LANE,  
COLABA, BOMBAY,  
23 August 1941

Sir,

The greatness of the Musalmans in the past was due to faith, discipline and unity.

The gigantic achievements of *Hazrat* Omar, Salahuddin [Ayubi], Amir Taimur, Abdur Rehman of Spain, Suleman and Kemal Ataturk were mainly due to having a united and disciplined nation at their back. But alas! we Indian Musalmans, in spite of the world crisis and startling changes occurring daily around us, are still sleeping and don't seem to realise the blessings of unity.

It is very distressing to see the Muslim League once more in the throes of a crisis owing to indiscipline and shortsighted policy of some of our leaders. This time it is the Defence Council appointments.



This unseemly controversy would not have occurred had the Premiers concerned followed the right course in explaining to the Viceroy that the correct procedure for him to approach them was through the League President, and not directly. When our leaders themselves set a bad example, what can we expect from the rank and file? It is obvious now that we cannot make any progress if things continue like this. We have to put ■ stop to it once for all.

I wrote to Mr. Fazlul Huq and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan recently and emphasized that, apart from the question of discipline, whether it is a matter of high policy or provincial responsibility, when the interests of ninety million Muslims are at stake everything should be subordinated to the interest of the nation. When once we accept a leader, whoever he may be, we must obey him and stick to him through thick and thin. Thus only we can reach our goal. Sir Sikander assures me that he will always endeavour to maintain the solidarity of the Muslims.

We also appeal to you, Sir, that just now what we need most is unity. If there is a rift in our ranks, it will be a triumph for our enemies who have taken for granted that the League has split, and are gloating over it. We want to show them that the League has not split and is united and strong as ever, and so turn their joy into a big disappointment.

In conclusion, I would like to say that young Musalmans throughout India are at your back to a man, and are capable of making the greatest sacrifices. We have full confidence in you. We pray to God that our League, over which you so illustriously preside, may become the most efficient, powerful and united political organisation in India.

I had the privilege of meeting you along with my father, the late Col. Amir Ahmed, about two years ago, and ■ hope I will get an opportunity to call and pay my respects again.

Yours sincerely,  
KABIR AHMAD

77

*Abdus Sattar Khan to M.A.Jinnah**F. 1099/230-1*

AKOLA,  
C.P. & BERAR,  
23 August 1941

Dear Sir,

As an humble worker of the Muslim League, I venture to express my opinion, for whatever it may be worth, on the present embarrassing problem before the All India Muslim League Working Committee.

I think you were right in creating the furore by striking at the right moment. The hit is not against Sir Sikander and others personally but it is a kick at the Govt. of India and a fitting reply to Viceroy's repercussions, which are even seen in the Whitehall. I may even say that it has got an international importance.

The deputationists and the well-wishers of the Premiers should be given to understand that the step is not against them and if they resign in the interests of the League and those of the general Muslims and the Islamic countries they will ever be remembered by the future historians of India.

The contemplated disciplinary action must be taken. If not this time, it will have to be taken in the near future because an attack on the neutrality of Iran, on one excuse or other, is imminent. In this case, the rash step on the part of the British Govt. will be greatly resented by the Muslims of India. What then the Muslim League will do? Of course, they should come forward boldly with an open protest. India or no India the Muslim League will and should never allow their brethren to fight against any Islamic country. Probably [*words missing*] the terms of S'adabad Pact, Turkey will support Iran. You, as President of the All India Muslim League, have already expressed your views that the Indian Muslims will never be allowed to wage war against their Muslim brethren in any part of the world for the sake of the British Empire. Already the Urdu press have begun giving warnings to the British Govt.

A compromise is possible but it will never be accepted by the Premiers and others. They should give an undertaking, in clear and unequivocal terms, that in case the Britishers attack Iran they will resign. Of course, this presupposes that the Muslims of India have

already resolved to oppose the British Govt. in their venture against Iran or any other Islamic country. This is not a secret. The Govt. of the Hindus know full well that the Muslims of India will never co-operate in such an emergency. The League of today must never lag behind the *Khilafatists* of yesterday.

One specious argument will be put forward of protecting our hearths and homes. But the issue before the Muslims of India is very clear. Either they should look to India, which is not theirs as it is under foreign domination, or they should show to God and the world that they are Muslims first and everything next. I am afraid you will have to convene another meeting of the Working Committee soon to consider the grave international situation. May God save Iran and Turkey!

Yours sincerely,

A. S. KHAN

*Pleader;*

*Office Secretary,*

*CP & Berar Provincial Muslim League*

78

*M. Zaman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/238-9*

214 POLICE STREET,

MEERUT,

25 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You need not be surprised to receive this letter from a mere student not even personally known to you. I venture to address you not only as ■ Musalman, but also because I accept you as my leader and have full confidence in your sincerity and statesmanship. I, therefore, hope that you will kindly pay some attention to these few words written by one who loves the Muslims and appeals to their saviour for their benefit.

I have come in [to] the fold of Muslim League since it has sponsored the Pakistan Scheme. Not only do I believe that Pakistan is the best and the most honourable course for Muslims, I also feel that its establishment is inevitable and that we should sacrifice everything for its achievement. I want to draw your attention to the



recent move taken [sic] by Mr. K. M. Munshi. He has put up the cause of *Akhand Hindustan* after resigning from the Congress. His party is pitted against the Muslim League only for the opposition of Pakistan. For this, he has opened *akharas* and is preparing the Hindu youth to fight tooth and nail for their ideal. To me, it seems that he is only an instrument of Mr. Gandhi who has crossed the barrier of non-violence by Mr. Gandhi's order and is preparing his nation for a civil war. A civil war, later or sooner, is inevitable and the Hindus are equipping themselves for that grim hour.

We, the Muslims, with a heroic and martial history behind us should not lag behind in our preparation for the achievement of our goal—Pakistan, at any cost. You are fully aware of the latent martial faculties of Muslims. In such circumstances, a word of yours to encourage training in *binnot* and the art of fencing etc. will work like magic. People ask us, what preparations are you making for the achievement of Pakistan? Our answers are vague and we bow our heads with shame. The idea has been well-propagated now and has appealed to nearly the whole of Muslim India. It is possible that we might go a few steps forward in the next constitution for India and get some concessions, because our voice has been felt by the British Government. But neither the British Govt. nor the Hindus can easily allow us to form our homeland as we demand. We can hope to get it only at the point of sword and through the equity of rifle [sic]. I am aware of the fact that your scheme of National Guards is a step towards the militarisation of the Muslims. But I think that far greater concentration on this point is necessary. We don't care what the Hindus or the Englishmen will say. They may call it an attempt at breach of the peace or a cause of riots. We are not afraid of it. When Mr. Munshi has first taken a lead, why should we not make preparations for our own fortification. Keeping in view these circumstances, it seems necessary that you should take an official step in the League for giving the Muslims physical and military training in every town and village. This is only a suggestion and a request. I am writing to you so that you may sound the opinion of an average Muslim youth. You yourself know why you have not taken a definite step in this connection, but I wish and hope to be satisfied on this point which is haunting me since Mr. Munshi's move. May I expect a reply.

Yours sincerely,

M. ZAMAN

Member, All India Muslim Students' Federation



## 79

*Liaquat Ali Khan to A. K. Fazlul Huq*

*Telegram, F. 335/212*

BOMBAY,  
25 August 1941

Mr. Fazlul Huq, Calcutta,

After full discussion consideration Working Committee unanimously opined that Sir Sikander Hyat, Sir Saadulla, Mr. Fazlul Huq should resign from National Defence Council. Sir Sikander Hyat, Sir Saadulla have agreed tender resignation NDC. Regarding you Working Committee resolution runs as follow:

Mr. Fazlul Huq communicated he would like have time consider matter. If he also resigns from NDC within ten days and informs President accordingly no further action necessary. Failing receipt satisfactory reply from Mr. Fazlul Huq by President within time aforesaid Committee hereby fully authorise President take such action he deems proper.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN  
Secretary, AIML

## 80

*Z. M. Yameen to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/253-4*

MOTIA PARK,  
BHOPAL,  
26 August 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Yesterday the All India Radio announced the Anglo-Russian military action against Iran,<sup>1</sup> calling it a step towards the safety and maintaining the integrity of the country on the basis of an assurance given through a proclamation by the Prime Minister. I cannot understand the puzzle. Such an assurance was also given to Mr. Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, by Hitler and that was an aggression

while this is a bunch of roses being presented to Iran. We have been silent on Iraq, can we still remain silent—no question of co-operation should arise. I think under your leadership we, the Musalmans, should start an agitation, make our ministers resign, bring about a complete constitutional deadlock and do our best so long as the British forces are not withdrawn from Iran. I am afraid after Iran Afghanistan may be guarded and Turkey also, against all evils because at the present moment Turkey is supposed to have the best of relations with Nazi Germany. We are bound by ties of Islamic brotherhood and we should strive for the safety of Iran. No proclamation but that of the withdrawal of British forces from Persia can satisfy us. We cannot have the idea of hampering the War effort against the Nazis but we cannot allow burning our own houses one by one and see calmly [*sic*]. It will mean we are dead.

Quaid-i-Azam, are we really dead? Can a nation with you as its leader show by its actions that it is dead? Pray persist in getting some solution about it.

Your humble servant,  
Z. M. YAMEEN  
*A Pakistani soldier*

<sup>1</sup>The Working Committee of AIML, which met in Bombay on 24-6 August 1941, took note of the "unprovoked aggression against Iran by Great Britain and Russia... in violation of the fundamental principles of international law". The Committee warned that the invasion of Iran, a non-belligerent nation, by the Allies "will ... alienate the sympathies of Muslim India .." and called for an end to the military occupation of Iran, and other neutral Muslim states of the Near East, and for the restoration of their independence and sovereignty. See No. 83, Resolution No. 7.

## 81

*Anonym to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/244*

JULLUNDUR CITY,  
26 August 1941

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am speaking as an humble Muslim student. I know I will be making a number of mistakes in writing this letter; but I do hope you will excuse this humble human being for all his deficiencies and give him a patient hearing.

The unprovoked attack by Britain, the champion of democracy,

and Russia on our brethren in Iran which not only requires the severest condemnation by the Muslim League in particular, but also calls forth all Muslims to act for the preservation of the independence of their brethren in Iran. The unjustified and uncalled for aggression on the part of the British and Soviet Govts. is, at the same time, a sideway [sic] warning to Turkey and Afghanistan. You know very well how countries like Iraq and Egypt have been treated by the so-called British democracy.

We are told that the British Govt. is not at war with Iran: they simply want to turn out Nazi agents from that country. On what basis can we believe the British statement when the Iraq episode is before us? After turning out Nazis from Iraq, has the British Govt. granted independence to that country? Of course not; they are not going to do that, and the same thing must happen in the case of Iran also. The independent Iranians are going to be enslaved and a dark horizon is awaiting their doom. Mind that the British Govt. is not going to leave the remaining two (Afghanistan and Turkey) independent Islamic countries. Shall we Muslims watch for the day when the entire Muslim world is under the yoke of the so-called democracy? I, being a Muslim, cannot tolerate such a thing to happen and I do hope you agree with me on this point. When this is true, does it not become necessary that we, the Muslims should do something to save the Muslim world until [sic] it is too late. I sincerely hope you can carry the day if you [are] able to convince the Muslim masses that you are going to decide the vital issue at hand. Why not convene a meeting of the League Council and decide what can be done at present?

Just as a son expects guidance from his father, so do we Muslims expect you to guide us in our difficulties. I hope you would be kind enough to respond to my appeal by giving ■ statement to the press on the Iranian issue.

May you live long is the prayer to *Allah*.

Yours affectionately,  
[UNSIGNED]  
*A Muslim student*

## 82

*Sikander Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/123*

TAJ MAHAL HOTEL,  
BOMBAY,  
26 August 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have had incessant inquiries from the press and in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding or misrepresentation by unscrupulous opponents, I have considered it necessary to issue a brief statement to the press, of which I enclose a copy. The statement will be published tomorrow.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
S. HYAT KHAN

*Enclosure*

*Press Statement by Sikander Hyat Khan*

*F. 1092/124-5*

I agreed to serve on the National Defence Council not in my individual capacity but as the Premier of my Province by virtue of the office held by me. I accepted the membership of this Council like the Premiers of other provinces in my ex-officio capacity to represent the interests of my Province as a whole and not as a representative of any particular community. I have made it clear that in agreeing to serve on this Council in my official capacity, I had, according to my lights, done nothing in any way nor intended to violate any decision of the Muslim League or to do anything against the best interests of the Musalmans. Moreover, as the representation on the Defence Council was being accorded to my Province, I honestly believed, and still maintain, that in view of the special interests of the Punjab in matters relating to defence and the clear mandate of my legislature and party to render the fullest possible cooperation in war effort, I could not, without prejudicing the vital interests of my Province, have refused to serve on the Defence Council when invited to do so in my ex-officio capacity. In fact, my refusal in these circumstances, in my opinion, would have in a way savoured of non-cooperation with



the effort which would have been against my confirmed conviction and which is not the policy of the Muslim League either.

I was surprised, however, to find that in the letter dated the 20th July 1941,<sup>1</sup> from the Governor of Bombay to Mr. Jinnah, communicating to him a message from His Excellency the Viceroy, an entirely different complexion had been put on the basis of appointment of the Muslim Premiers on this Council, and, *inter alia*, it was stated that we were being appointed to the Defence Council as representatives of [*words missing*] Muslim community. It is immaterial how this discrepancy crept in. It is obvious, however, that on this basis, I could not, in fairness to my Province or the Muslim League, continue to serve on this Council. In the first place, I could not reconcile acceptance of a position as representative of the Punjab in my official capacity as its Premier and to undertake to represent there the interests of one community only. At the same time, as a member of the Muslim League, I could not by myself accept the position of being the representative of the Muslims when the Muslim League had not been consulted. Moreover, my continuing as a member of this Council in these circumstances would not only be unfair to my Province and my community, but might lead to further misunderstandings and complications, which would affect the war effort—a contingency which must be avoided at all costs, at this critical juncture, in view of the vital issues involved. Accordingly having regard to the aforesaid circumstances, I have, with a clear conscience, decided to tender my resignation of the membership of the National Defence Council. I wish to make it clear, however, that this decision does not in any way imply ■ change in my own attitude, or the policy of the Punjab, towards war effort; and I wish to reiterate my firm conviction that for the safety, integrity and ordered progress of this country as also in the best interests of the Musalmans in India and abroad, and the world cause at stake, we must not only continue but intensify to the fullest possible extent our war effort at this critical juncture.

<sup>1</sup>No. 519, JP, XVI, 655-6.

## 83

*Proceedings of the Meeting of the All India Muslim League  
Working Committee*

*AFM 133/63-73*

[BOMBAY,  
24-6 August 1941]

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League met at Bombay on the 24th, 25th and 26th of August 1941 at the residence of Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill). The following members were present:

M. A. Jinnah	(In chair)
Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad	
Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan	(U.P.)
Choudhari Khaliquzzaman	(U.P.)
Syed Hossain Imam	M.C.S. (Bihar)
Abdul Matin Choudhary	(Assam)
Haji Abdussattar Haji Essak Seth	MLA (Madras)
Sir Abdoola Haroon	MLA (Sind)
Qazi Mohammad Isa	(Baluchistan)
Bakht Jamal Khan	(N.W.F.P.)
Sardar Aurangzeb Khan	(N.W.F.P.)
Sir Sikander Hyat Khan	(Punjab)
Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot	(Punjab)
[Moulana] Mohammad Akrum Khan	(Bengal)
Syed Abdur Rauf Shah	(C.P.)
Syed Mohammad Latifur Rahman	(Bihar)
Malik Barkat Ali	(Punjab)
Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim	(Bombay)
Sir Nazimuddin	(Bengal)
Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan	

The Committee considered the Accounts from 1st of May 1940 upto 31st of March 1941 and the Budget from the 1st of April 1941 upto 31st of March 1942 and passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 1

[Not printed]

The Committee considered the question of taking disciplinary

action against those members of the Council of the All India Muslim League who have associated themselves with the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Council and the constitution of the National Defence Council. The following resolutions were adopted:

#### RESOLUTION NO. 2

After full discussion and consideration, the Working Committee are unanimously of opinion that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Mr. Fazlul Huq and Sir Mohammad Saadulla should resign from the National Defence Council. In view of all the facts placed before the Committee by the President including the message of His Excellency the Viceroy sent to him through the Governor of Bombay on the 21st [20th]<sup>1</sup> of July 1941, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Committee are glad to note, has decided to tender his resignation from the National Defence Council and the Committee have been informed telephonically that Sir Mohammad Saadulla has also decided to resign from the National Defence Council. The question, therefore, of disciplinary action against Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Sir Mohammad Saadulla does not arise.

Mr. Fazlul Huq has communicated that he would like to have time to consider the matter. If he also resigns from the National Defence Council within ten days and informs the President accordingly no further action will be necessary. Failing the receipt of a satisfactory reply from Mr. Fazlul Huq by the President within the time aforesaid, the Committee hereby fully authorize the President to take such action as he may deem proper and necessary.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 3

The Working Committee after considering the explanation<sup>2</sup> of the Nawab of Chhatari, are of opinion that he, while still a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League, by accepting the membership of the National Defence Council, has acted against the express decision of the Muslim League and its general policy, and call upon him to resign his membership of the National Defence Council. If the Nawab of Chhatari resigns the membership of the National Defence Council before he takes charge as the President of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Council of Ministers and communicates this fact to the President, no action will be necessary.

In case the Nawab of Chhatari fails to submit his resignation from



the National Defence Council within the time prescribed, the President is hereby given full authority to take such action as he deems necessary and proper.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 4

The Working Committee after considering the explanation<sup>3</sup> of Begum Shah Nawaz, are of opinion that she, while still a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League, by accepting the membership of the National Defence Council, has acted against the express decision of the Muslim League and its general policy and call upon her to resign her membership of the National Defence Council.

If Begum Shah Nawaz resigns the membership of the National Defence Council within ten days and communicates this fact to the President, no action will be necessary.

In case Begum Shah Nawaz fails to submit the resignation from the National Defence Council within the time prescribed, the President is hereby given full authority to take such action as he deems necessary and proper.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 5

The Working Committee have considered the explanation of Sir Sultan Ahmad. It seems that he has not realized the gravamen of the complaint viz., that while he, being a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League, has associated himself with the scheme of the expansion and reconstruction of the personnel of the Viceroy's Executive Council, so notified in the communique dated the 21st of July 1941,<sup>4</sup> and the constitution of the National Defence Council, which is a part and parcel of the schemes as has been explained by the highest authority, the Secretary of State for India in his statement in the House of Commons on the 22nd of July<sup>5</sup> and further amplified by his speech and his reply to the debate in the House of Commons on the 1st of August 1941<sup>6</sup> in which he makes it quite clear that the appointment of Sir Sultan Ahmad to Executive Council was a part of the scheme.

In view of these facts, Sir Sultan Ahmad has associated himself with the scheme against the express decision of the Muslim League and its general policy, and the Committee are of the opinion that he should resign his appointment to the Viceroy's Executive Council within ten days failing which the Committee hereby give full authority to the President to



take such action as he may deem necessary and proper.

The Working Committee considered the situation in Muslim countries in general and passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 6

The Musalmans of India are greatly perturbed at, and view with alarm, the military occupation of certain Muslim states in the Near East by Great Britain and her Allies. The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, therefore, urge upon the British Government and her Allies to declare unequivocally that the sovereignty and independence of those Muslim states will be immediately restored as soon as circumstances permit and that the pernicious system of mandates and the creation of influence for European powers over these countries will not be resorted to.

The Working Committee considered the situation that has arisen on account of military occupation of Iran by British and Russian forces.

Sir Sikander Hyat was opposed to passing any resolution for the present. All other members were however of opinion that a resolution should be passed on the subject. The Committee after due consideration adopted the following resolution regarding Iran:

RESOLUTION NO. 7

The Working Committee have learnt with dismay the news of the unprovoked aggression against Iran by Great Britain and Russia, contrary to all the declarations of the British Government to respect the neutrality and sovereignty of non-combatant states to uphold which the British Government and her Allies are fighting Nazism, and in violation of the fundamental principles of international law; and warn the Government that this action of the Allies will still more complicate the Near East situation and alienate the sympathies of Muslim India and create bitterness in their hearts which will result in the withdrawal of every help by them to the Allied cause.

The Committee considered the Viceroy's action regarding the expansion of his Council and the constitution of the National Defence Council and passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 8

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League deplore that His Excellency the Viceroy should have gone

out of his way to canvass the members of the Muslim League for securing their association with the scheme of expansion of the Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council within the terms of the offer of the 8th of August 1940,<sup>7</sup> behind the back of the leader of the organization, knowing full well the express decision of the Council of the League rejecting a scheme on similar lines by its resolution dated the 29th of September 1940, which was duly communicated to him by the President.<sup>8</sup>

Further the Committee condemn the observations of Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, made in the House of Commons in his speech on the 1st of August 1941, to the effect that he was glad to think that regardless of party leaders and in defiance of party discipline, patriotic Indians have come forward to work for India's defence, thereby casting a serious reflection on the patriotism of those who do not approve the scheme, and lauding the conduct of those who have been deliberately and by various manoeuvres weaned to commit a breach of party discipline.

The Working Committee are of the considered opinion that the recent decision to resuscitate and impose upon India the scheme of expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the setting up of a National Defence Council was undertaken as a concession to the demands of the Hindus in utter disregard of the wishes of the Muslims of India and the solemn promises made to them and is intended to mislead public opinion in Great Britain and abroad.

The Committee considered the speech of Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India which he made recently in the House of Commons and adopted the following resolution:

#### RESOLUTION NO. 9

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League are amazed and alarmed that Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India and a responsible minister of the Crown, should be permitted to make pronouncements which amount to a breach of faith to Muslim India and to resile from the declared policy of the British government, viz., that the constitutional issue will in no way be prejudged by His Majesty's Government and that the solution of the constitutional issue will be dependent upon agreement between the principal parties, as the following extracts from his speeches

and announcement of the Viceroy dated the 8th of August 1940 clearly disclose:

*[Extract from Statement by L. S. Amery dated 14 August 1940]*

Agreement, consent is indeed the foundation of all free governments, of all true democracy. Decision by a majority is not so much of the essence of democracy as ■ practical convenience which presupposes for its proper working an antecedent general consent to the constitution itself. It has indeed in most federal constitutions been limited in various ways in order to safeguard the separate interests of the federating elements. To describe the need for such agreement as a veto on constitutional progress is, I think, to do an injustice to the patriotism and sense of responsibility of those concerned. Agreement means not veto by any element but compromise, and willingness to compromise, in India as elsewhere, is an essential test of the sense of responsibility on which free government must be based.]<sup>9</sup>

*[Extract from Statement by L. S. Amery dated 22 April 1941]*

It was suggested that the framework of India's future constitution should be devised by Indians themselves and not by this House. That was a far-reaching and indeed revolutionary announcement the full importance of which has not, I think, even yet been fully appreciated either in this country or in India.

Even more important in this connection is the stipulation that the constitution itself, and also the body which is to frame it, must be the outcome of the agreement between the principal elements in India's national life. That is an essential prerequisite to the success of the future constitution. For if Indians cannot agree upon the kind of constitution they are prepared to work, how are they likely to agree upon the actual working of it. I have dwelt deliberately upon Indian responsibility in the matter; for unless Indians are prepared to face that responsibility now they will fail to face it hereafter. Any agreement imposed by us from without cannot survive the withdrawal of our power to enforce it. Only a real agreement, freely reached, can stand the test.]<sup>10</sup>

The Committee considered the communal situation resulting in communal riots in various parts of the country and adopted the following resolution:



## RESOLUTION NO. 10

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League are deeply concerned at the widespread riots in the country during the year and their recrudescence at several places soon after order was restored, which distinctly suggests an organized attempt on the part of the Hindus to crush the Muslim morale in places where they are in a minority, and urge upon the government to take serious note of the situation which has arisen on account of the speeches delivered from Hindu platforms inciting people to violence in their endeavour to create organized opposition to the just demands of the Muslims of India and to demonstrate that communal riots were not only confined to the Congress government regime.

Further the Working Committee have received with surprise and alarm the information from its provincial bodies that the attitude of government officials generally has been unsympathetic in meeting Muslim demands and removing their just grievances. The Working Committee urge upon the government to redress their grievances in this respect and to adopt adequate and effective measures for the protection of their lives and property.

Further the Working Committee draw the attention of the Government of India to the high-handed and arbitrary orders of the Government of Bihar in connection with the observance of Bihar Sharif day and the banning of the publication of Bihar Sharif enquiry committee report and declining to appoint special tribunals in order to secure fair trial and justice for the Musalmans.

The Committee considered the Indo-Burma agreement and passed the following resolution:

## RESOLUTION NO. 11

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League condemn the recent Indo-Burma agreement concluded without consulting the Indian Legislature or the provincial governments concerned and other responsible public opinion in the country with the result that the vital economic interests of India in general and the trading interests and civic rights of the Muslim community in particular enjoyed by them over a century have been sacrificed and irreparably damaged. The Working Committee urge upon the Governor-General and



the Secretary of State for India not to ratify the aforesaid agreement and thus remove the serious discontent which it has caused in all Indian trading circles and the offence it has given to the self-respect of the peoples of India.

The President had received a bulky file of papers from the Bihar Provincial Muslim League regarding their grievances against the Government which was placed before the Working Committee.

In view of the policy adopted by the Bihar Government with regard to Bihar Sharif disturbances which is stated as unjust and oppressive, the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League feels that the only course left to them is to resort to direct action. The Committee after considering the matter adopted the following resolution:

#### RESOLUTION NO. 12

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League considered the request of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League for defying the orders of the Bihar Government imposed upon the Musalmans in connection with Bihar Sharif disturbances. The Committee postponed their decision till further information was available.

<sup>1</sup>No. 519, JP, XVI, 655-6.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 242/37, QAP. Not printed. Also see No. 546, JP, XVI, 696.

<sup>3</sup>See Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father & Daughter: A Political Autobiography*, Karachi, 2002, 163.

<sup>4</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 270-2, note 2.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., note 2, 506.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., note 3, 506-7.

<sup>7</sup>Enclosure to No. 506, JP, XV, 687-9.

<sup>8</sup>No. 46, JP, XVI, 54.

<sup>9</sup>For full text of the speech, see Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 727-39.

<sup>10</sup>See *ibid*, note 1, 511-2.

## 84

*Liaquat Ali Khan to Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari*

*Telegram, F. 335/213*

BOMBAY,

26 August 1941

Nawab of Chhatari, Aligarh

Working Committee decided if you resign membership National Defence Council before assuming charge Premier, Hyderabad, and

communicate to President no action necessary otherwise President authorised take disciplinary action.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN  
*Secretary, AIML*

## 85

*M. A. Jinnah to K. L. Gauba*

*F. 826/130*

*27 August 1941*

Dear Mr. Gauba,

I am in receipt of your telegram<sup>1</sup> and I am sorry I was not able to attend to it earlier, as I was very much pressed with the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

It is not possible for me to give your wife the League ticket over the head of the Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board, and unless there is some very strong reason, I cannot overrule their decision.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

## 86

*M. A. Jinnah to N. B. Khare*

*SHC, CP & Berar II/101*

*27 August 1941*

Dear Dr. Khare,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th of August 1941<sup>1</sup> and I was not able to attend to it earlier, as I was pressed with other important and immediate work, as the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League was going to meet on the 24th.

From your letter it is not clear to me as to what is your party and its strength, policy and programme. You know that the Muslim League is an all-India organisation, and it is difficult for us to consider the proposal of coalition unless we know the full details of what is the party, who is the leader and what are its aims and objects, what is its following and on what terms the coalition can be formed—of course

without prejudice to the future major issue, and within the framework of the present constitution.

Your letter is too vague for me really to say anything at present.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Dr. N. B. Khare,  
Dhantoli, Nagpur

<sup>1</sup>No. 39.

## 87

*M. A. Jinnah to Mubarak Ali Khan*

*F. 826/131*

*27 August 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th of July 1941<sup>1</sup> and thank you very much indeed for your sympathy for and appreciation of the work that the All India Muslim League has done and is doing. I am sending you by separate parcel all the literature that is available and which might be useful to you.

As regards the efforts of the India Welfare League, for the betterment of the Indians and particularly of the Musalmans, I need hardly say that you have our warm sympathies and support in your struggle for acquiring the status of full fledged American citizens.

Wishing you all success,

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Mubarak Ali Khan, Esq.,  
President,  
India Welfare League Inc.,  
113 Broome Street,  
New York

<sup>1</sup>F. 1099/66-7, QAP. Not printed.

## 88

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Abdussattar Khan Niazi*

*F. 393/16*

*27 August 1941*

Dear Mr. Niazi,

I am in receipt of your telegram<sup>1</sup> and your letters<sup>2</sup> and beg to inform you that it is difficult for me to give you the League ticket over the head of the Parliamentary Board of the Provincial Muslim League, Punjab. I cannot overrule the decision of the Punjab Parliamentary Board unless there is some very strong reason to do so, because at present, they are according to the constitution, the recognised Provincial authority; but I believe, that Nawab of Mamdot, President, has not yet finally decided, and if you can persuade him to accept your nomination, I shall be glad to hear that.

Please let me know the result.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1&2</sup>Not traced.

## 89

*Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/127*

ALIGARH,  
*28 August 1941*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Vice-Chancellors of the universities are asked whether they would accept the rank of an honorary Major which is stated to have no specific duties attached to it, but its assumption would assist the Vice-Chancellors to give expression to their interest in their University Unit. We have got two Platoons in the University, which I have to inspect, but I cannot take any active interest because I do not have a military rank.

I understand that the decision of the Government was arrived at on the representation made by certain Vice-Chancellors.

I have not replied acceptance of the Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim



University. This rank is not a personal one, but it would be attached to the office.

Yours sincerely,  
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD  
Vice-Chancellor,  
Muslim University

90

*Manu Subedar to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1085/8-9*

KODAK HOUSE,  
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,  
BOMBAY,  
29 August 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

If my letter appears very impertinent to you, I hope you will accept my assurance that it is not due to any intention of this kind. I write in all humility because I love my country and because I have never doubted your own patriotism and a desire to advance the cause of India's freedom.

I belong to that section which thinks that so long as common action results, it does not matter on what terms and conditions it is secured. Extreme persons [sic] on both sides have pronounced that India's political problem is insoluble. The Englishman misses no opportunity to plead his own innocence and to declare to the rest of the world that there is an impasse. Emphatic assertions and counter-assertions have strengthened the impression that there is no solution of the Indian problem, which can be even considered.

I took an opportunity of discussing this with a Muslim friend and, at his desire, I drafted something, which a self-respecting Muslim could, without giving up any of the points raised by the [Muslim] League or mentioned in your several pronouncements, put forward as a basis of discussion.

If you would permit me and not think that I am presuming too much on the fact that at one time I was your trusted lieutenant and you were my honoured chief in political and public life, I venture to send this draft over to you without asking anything more than that you will peruse it.

If you think there is a germ of an honourable settlement, which will bring Hindus and Muslims together and enable them to gain political advance during the opportunity of the War, I shall be happy to wait on you, whenever you want me, and also to arrange to sound opinion in other quarters. If it would be helpful, I can have a deputation of merchants to wait on you to make a request similar to what was done in the speech of the President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber for removing the deadlock.

I feel that the efforts, in which some of us have been engaged all our life, ought to bear some fruit while we still live. It is this feeling, which has impelled me to write to you entirely on my own. Please do not, therefore, misunderstand me.

I have always held you in high esteem and I would not have written if I did not continue to hold you in the same esteem, which I have always entertained.

Yours sincerely,  
MANU SUBEDAR

PS. May I offer my humble congratulations on your signal triumph over the British authorities, whose machinations were aimed at breaking up the League.

*Enclosure*

*F. 1085/10-11*

PRE-REQUISITES OF A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

Pakistan is the Muslim ideal. The Englishman is opposing it dishonestly and is also engineering other opposition with a view to perpetuating his own power. An influential commission should enquire into the details of the division. The final acceptance by all-India [sic] of Pakistan must depend on Muslim opinion and vote. But to get the Englishman out of the issue of Pakistan should be held over.

2. Separate electorates must remain and any suggestion that they should be now abandoned, cannot be entertained.

3. The Hindu majority in the Central Assembly must be transformed into a Muslim majority. This is to be achieved by all seats in the non-Muslim constituencies returning Muslims and all seats in the Muslim constituencies returning Hindus. This will imply roughly 66 per cent Muslims and 33 per cent Hindus. Such an Assembly for a period of 15 years (three or five elections) will not allow Muslim interest to be sacrificed.

4. There should be ■ supreme board of referees consisting of six persons to whom any acute differences, which cannot be settled by mutual discussion, may be referred and whose decision should be accepted by everybody as final. These six will consist of two Muslims, two Hindus, and two others, but they will be men of age, experience and great esteem throughout the country.

5. On the above footing, the executive in the Provinces and at the Centre can be established as follows:

- i. The Ministry at the Centre shall be responsible to the Assembly in all respects and there shall be no departments of the Central Government over which the Ministry will not have full authority.
- ii. The Ministry is to be constituted in advance of 20 persons. The Ministry will have a small cabinet of 6, 7 or 8. The 20 names are to be fixed in advance by mutual consultation (with a guarantee of elected seats to the men so chosen). The numbers may be 8 Muslims, 8 Hindus and 4 other minorities.
- iii. In the provinces, coalition Ministries on the basis of fifty/fifty, i.e. half Muslim and half Hindu, should be established everywhere.

#### CONCLUSION

6. The aim is to present a united demand and to wrest power out of the hands of the English. A further aim is to put the administration genuinely on the Indian standard and basis to raise the standard of production in the country and to raise the wealth of the country generally. At or near the end of this period, Muslim vote, ascertained in a manner to be laid down from now by the Muslim League, would determine whether, when and how Pakistan is to be established.

91

*Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/130*

RAHAT MANZIL,  
ALIGARH,  
29 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have today sent you the following telegram:

Reference League Secretary's telegram of August twenty-sixth.<sup>1</sup> I

already resigned my seat on the National Defence Council and intimated this fact to Government on August first on my return from Hyderabad.

Yours sincerely,  
AHMAD SAID  
[Nawab of Chhatari]

<sup>1</sup>No. 84.

## 92

*M. A. Jinnah to Sikander Hyat Khan*

*F. 353/38*

*29 August 1941*

Dear Sir Sikander Hyat,

Thank you for your covering letter<sup>1</sup> with a copy of your statement<sup>2</sup> that you issued from Bombay.

I have had to reply to the communique of the Govt. of India, presumably Lord Linlithgow's explanation. I have also released to the press the full text of the message sent to me through the Governor of Bombay and my reply to it and I am sending you herewith ■ typed copy<sup>3</sup> giving you the full text.

As understood between us before you left Bombay, you will not entertain any new proposal and agree to any fresh move without informing me and discussing the matter with me. I have mentioned this because it is possible that some fresh move might be made on behalf of the Government. The *Times of India* in its leader this morning hints and makes a sinister suggestion that the Governors of the affected provinces should nominate a representative, and no one could blame the Governors if their choice fell on their Premiers. The situation is such that the slightest mistake on our part now will undo all the work done by us hitherto.

Thanking you for your willing assistance that you gave me throughout, I need hardly say that I was considerably moved when you said before the meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, "I have nothing to say in my defence and I am willing to abide by the orders of our President, whom I have acknowledged as my Quaid-i-Azam, and follow his instructions whatever he decides, right or wrong."

May I take the opportunity of thanking you for this expression of



loyalty, and God willing, Muslim League will go ahead triumphantly.  
With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 82.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosure to *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>Nos. 519 & 520, *JP*, XVI, 655-8.

## 93

*Nawab of Bhopal to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 692/1-2*

PRIVATE/PERSONAL

QASR-I-SULTANI,  
BHOPAL,  
30 August 1941

My dear Jinnah,

If you won't consider me presumptuous, I want to say just two words to you—well done. That is all, but it means a lot. More when we meet, which I do so much hope will be very soon. You know you are always most welcome in Bhopal.

I hope you are very well again and taking proper care of yourself. Do take care of yourself.

With all best wishes,<sup>1</sup>

Yours very sincerely,  
HAMIDULLAH

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah thanked the Nawab of Bhopal for his letter. See F. 238/6, QAP. Not printed.

## 94

*N. B. Khare to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, C. P. & Berar II/102*

NAGPUR,  
30 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am in receipt of your letter dated August 27,<sup>1</sup> and thank you for attending to my letter of 12th August,<sup>2</sup> in spite of your numerous

preoccupations with the work of the Muslim League.

I shall deal with the points raised in paragraph 2 of your letter. The strength of the C. P. and Berar Legislative Assembly is 112. I have the support of 37 members out of this number, including some scheduled-caste members. The number of Muslim League members in the Assembly is 11, and if I get the support of these members my total strength will be 48. I will thus require the support of only 9 members to get a majority to form an administration. I am confident of securing such support from Congress members, many of whom are dissatisfied with the present policy of the Congress and want to restore constitutional government in the Province.

It is clear from what I have said that I will take the lead in forming the ministry.

I shall be certainly willing to give you details regarding our aims and objects, provided you let me know on what points you would like to have clarification regarding our aims. I want to know from you the points on which you would like to have details as it will help me to draft a comprehensive plan to be placed before you.

I agree with you that whatever the terms on which the coalition may be formed, these terms should not prejudice the future major issue.

Regarding the general object of my efforts to form a ministry, I may say that it is my object to try an experiment in the C. P. and to show to the public at large that it is possible to form a coalition ministry with the help of the minorities, which would satisfy the interests of all, including the Muslims, within the framework of the present constitution.

All of us are tired of Section 93 Government and want to replace it by one which will have the confidence of the legislature.

Yours sincerely,

N. B. KHARE

PS. If you feel that it will be better for me to go over to Bombay and discuss matters with you personally,<sup>3</sup> I shall be glad to do so. We will settle the date on hearing from you or, better still, we can have a trunk telephone talk if it suits you.

N. B. K.

<sup>1</sup>No. 86.

<sup>2</sup>No. 39.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 119, note 3.

95

*Shah Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 373/19-20*

CONFIDENTIAL

MAMDOT VILLA, DAVIES ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
31 August 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As desired by you I have made enquiries regarding financial and social status of Mr. Abdussattar [Khan] Niazi. He is an inhabitant of Isakhel in Mianwali District, where he owns about 50 acres of unirrigated land. His father is dead and he is being supported by his uncle who is a private medical practitioner. His uncle has been paying him Rs. 30 a month towards his education expenses, which he still continues to pay for Mr. Niazi's maintenance as he has no other means of income. Mr. Niazi had been working for sometime at Delhi in the editorial staff of the *Talu-i-Islam*, but he had left from there also sometime ago.

Mr. Abdussattar Niazi is known here only among the students, and his colleagues in the Muslim Students' Federation tell me that he is only a member of the Federation and does not hold any office. While applying for the Muslim League ticket in connection with the forthcoming by-election, he did not consult the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation and is not being supported by them. I was further told that he was trying to form a separate group of his own and [had] refused to work with those members of the Federation who were touring the districts for Pakistan propaganda in full co-operation with the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. They have very successfully toured three districts, and before I left for Bombay on the 20th instant they were asked to tour Ambala Division, which they are now doing.

You had very kindly permitted me to announce the decision of the Punjab Parliamentary Board adopting Mian Amiruddin as a Muslim League candidate after making enquiries and satisfying myself about Mr. Abdussattar Niazi, and you were kind enough to assure me that you have no intention to interfere with the local arrangements, but since our return from Bombay sinister propaganda has been started through the Hindu press to mislead the Muslims to

create dissension among them. I herewith attach a cutting from the *Tribune*, Lahore, dated 1st September [31 August], in which only one sentence of your telegram has been quoted. I had a talk with [Malik] Barkat Ali on telephone and he informed me that he was not responsible for what had appeared in the *Tribune*, and had promised to send me the full text of your telegram, and I hope to find in it what you had very kindly told me and Malik Sahib at Bombay to the effect that you would not interfere in favour [of] or against any of the candidates. I trust Mr. Niazi will also withdraw.

As regards Mian Amiruddin, as your humble and obedient follower I can assure you that he is not of the type as reported to you. He is a staunch Muslim Leaguer and I am confident that he will remain so. He has been tried on many previous occasions when he stood fast for the Muslim cause without any consideration of his semi-official position as a Sub-Registrar.

I hope this will find you in the best of health.

Yours sincerely,  
SHAH NAWAZ KHAN

PS. I may inform you that in the announcement made by me I have not given the slightest indication that you had given your approval in favour of Mian Amiruddin.

*Enclosure*

*F. 373/21*

LAHORE,  
31 August 1941

I DO NOT APPROVE OF MIAN AMIRUDDIN

Mr. Jinnah's telegram to Malik Barkat Ali

With reference to the statement, issued to the press yesterday, that K. S. Mian Amiruddin had been nominated with the approval of Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Jinnah has informed Malik Barkat Ali, MLA; Advocate, in the course of a telegram<sup>1</sup> as follows:

I do not approve Mian Amiruddin—*Tribune*, Lahore

<sup>1</sup>See No. 111 for full text of the telegram.



96

*Sharif Ahmed Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/265-6*KAMMOO TOLA,  
AGRA,

31 August 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Pray allow me to introduce myself to you first as I am yet not known to you. I am a member of the Council of the U. P. Muslim League and naturally associated with the Primary and District Leagues also, but I am yet more of a student than anything else.

I have been, of late, regularly and carefully studying your office bulletin, the *Manshoor*, and permit me to congratulate you on the dignified tone of your paper. The articles and notes of your bulletin are not only higher by far than the average standard of Urdu papers but they are even superior to those appearing in most of the English papers. The reasoning process is lucid and logical. The criticism is so soothing and the exposition of the subject so learned that it is at once convincing. In fact, the articles have academic worth and are educative and illuminating. I am sure you realise more than anybody else the need of an English newspaper, and there must be strong reasons why the League could not yet arrange for one, but what I wish to ask you is this that while there is no English paper, you can surely arrange to have the articles of *Manshoor* translated into English in the form of an English bulletin and have it sent to all the high officials in India, to the Members of Parliament, and to the English papers in England, and I think the League can at any rate afford to do this little bit; and if this is done, the disadvantage in which we are at present placed, of our views and criticism not reaching the higher circles, would be reduced to a great extent. I am sure this suggestion will receive your due consideration. I need hardly state that I shall always be found ready to carry out the League's mandate in my sphere of influence and activity. It is most gratifying that the Working Committee under your guidance have fully vindicated the position of the League and I am sure these decisions will be a landmark in the history of the progress of the Muslim League.

Trusting that with all the onerous duties, you are keeping the best of health,

Yours sincerely,  
SHARIF AHMED KHAN  
B. A., LL.B. (Alig.)

## 97

*Liaquat Ali Khan to Pothan Joseph*

*F. 773/237-9*

8B HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
31 August 1941

My dear Mr. Pothan Joseph,

Thank you for sending me ■ copy of the letter<sup>1</sup> which you have written to Mr. Hassan Ispahani on the 26th instant. You must have by now received my registered letter, which I sent to you on the 24th,<sup>2</sup> making a formal offer to you on behalf of the *Dawn*, as was suggested by you in your telegram, which you had sent to me at Bombay.<sup>3</sup>

There are certain matters in your letter to Mr. Ispahani about which I am in a better position to give you information and hence I am writing this to you.

The following are the points in your letter on which you seek information:

- i. What will be your business?
- ii. Who will be your new employer and with whom will you have to deal?
- iii. You must be left to choose your staff.
- iv. If conditions of your service will be secure and satisfactory?

As regards No. (i) your business will be to edit the *Dawn* daily and perform all such duties as are natural to the office of an editor.

As regards No. (ii) you will be employed as the Editor of the *Dawn*, which has been founded by Mr. [M. A.] Jinnah and which will be under my charge and control and so you will have to deal with me.

As regards No. (iii) if you will refer to my letter of the 9th of August,<sup>4</sup> you will find that I myself suggested that the editorial staff will be employed in consultation with you and on your recommendation. You will have freedom to choose the men qualified for the various posts on salaries that have been provided in the budget that we have prepared and which compare very favourably with what are paid by the [line missing].

As regards No. (iv) let me tell you that the conditions of your service with the *Dawn* will not in anyway be less secure or less satisfactory than what they are with the *Star of India*. If anything, it will be more secure.

As regards the question of Ispahanis making a contribution of Rs.1000 towards the funds of the *Dawn*, it was mentioned, I think,

only to reassure you. Once you are engaged by the *Dawn*, you will have nothing to do with Ispahanis or the *Star of India*. It is a private arrangement between us and them. You will be paid by the *Dawn* and it will be the *Dawn* that will be responsible for the payment of your dues.

With regard to the question of starting the paper, in my previous letters I have mentioned that we are most anxious to start the paper immediately. The need is most urgent and we cannot wait a day longer than is absolutely necessary. These are abnormal times and one has to take immediate action.

If you accept the appointment, I would request you to come to Delhi immediately. The paper must be started at once. There are strong reasons for this and we have made up our minds to embark on this venture anyhow.

All the other arrangements, except those connected with the editorial side, are complete and I am determined, if I can possibly manage it, to start the paper from the 15th of September.

In the end, I would like to make a personal request to you to assist us in starting the paper from the middle of September even though it may cause you some inconvenience and I assure you that we will not fail to show our appreciation in a tangible form. I am confident that you will not regret your coming to Delhi to the *Dawn* and leaving the *Star of India*. As there is no time to be lost and every day is precious, I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me have your reply by express wire whether you accept the offer or not, and when at the earliest you can join here if you decide to accept the offer.

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

PS. Mr. Hassan Ispahani is in Delhi so I was able to discuss the contents of your letter with him.

L. A. K.

<sup>14</sup>Not traced.

## 98

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Saadulla*

*F. 431/1-2*

*31 August 1941*

Dear Sir Saadulla,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th of August 1941<sup>1</sup>. I have already released to the press the correspondence, including the



message from the Viceroy sent to me through the Governor of Bombay, dated the 20th of July 1941.<sup>2</sup> I am, however, sending you ■ copy of it as desired by you.

Let me take the opportunity of putting before you that the Working Committee have decided that, whether you were invited as a Premier or not, the mere association of ■ member of the Muslim League with the scheme, which has been decided upon by the Government contrary to the decision of the Muslim League rejecting an offer of the Government on similar lines by its resolution of the 28th and 29th of September 1940,<sup>3</sup> amounted to flouting the mandate of the Muslim League. Secondly, in any case it was necessary, before any Muslim Leaguer associated with the scheme of an all-India character and which is obviously of ■ vital and far-reaching importance and consequence, that he should have consulted the executive and leader of the organisation. Further, of course, the Viceroy's message to me says one thing, and you were given to understand a totally different thing.

I am glad that you have decided to resign, and I hope that you will not allow yourself, directly or indirectly, to be associated with the scheme as the whole object of the Govt. is to discredit the Muslim League organisation by holding up to the world that the prominent Muslim Leaguers are a consenting party to the scheme in spite of the League. Mr. Amery has not hesitated to give you a certificate of having proved false to the allegiance of your organisation when he says on the floor of the House of Parliament that he was glad to think that regardless of leaders and party discipline patriotic men have joined the scheme.

I hope that you will not take any step which will connect you or associate you with the scheme, directly or indirectly, and keep me in touch if any new proposals are made to you in this connection.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Syed Mohammad Saadulla,  
Premier, Assam

<sup>1</sup>F. 1092/126, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>No. 519, JP, XVI, 655-6.

<sup>3</sup>AFM 129/132. Not printed.



## 99

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani*

*Telegram, F. 306/76*

*1 September 1941*

Hassan Ispahani, 5 Camac Street, Calcutta

Sorry your indisposition. I agree issues raised by Huq must be fought out to the finish in Bengal's and Muslim India's interest. Glad your meeting was successful.

M. A. JINNAH

## 100

*Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 215/78-9*

19 TEMPLE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
*1 September 1941*

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your kind telegram to hand.<sup>1</sup> I explained the contents to Mr. Abdussattar and advised him that as you were not interfering, he should not contest. He took time to consider the situation.

I am leaving for Dalhousie tonight. Just now, after Sattar had left, a large crowd of Muslims came to my house and pressed that Quaid-i-Azam should be requested to arbitrate. I told them that Quaid-i-Azam will only agree if all candidates accept him as an arbitrator and refer the matter to him. I was assured by them that they had secured the assent of Mr. [K. L.] Gauba to this proposal. So far as Sattar is concerned, he certainly prefers this. I have deliberately not put myself in communication with Nawab of Mamdot lest he misunderstands. I am told that the proposal will be formally communicated to the Nawab tomorrow by a leading gentleman of Lahore. I personally welcome this proposal. It will immensely enhance the prestige of the [Muslim] League. Could you ask the Nawab to agree to this? This will save the Muslims of Lahore from fighting. All are united to follow your word. Why should the Nawab not accept this? Please do intervene on this basis and agree to be an arbitrator. A telegraphic reply should be addressed to Dalhousie. The postal reply

should also be addressed to Dalhousie.

Kindly wire to Nawab to agree to this most reasonable proposal. My address at Dalhousie is Melrose, Dalhousie.

With prayers for your health and long life and with all regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. BARKAT ALI  
*Advocate*

[PS.] A telephonic message was received by me this morning from Sir Sikander's leading man here that in case the Governor calls upon Sir Sikander to resign and calls upon somebody to form another govt., what will be my attitude? I replied at once that I will unhesitatingly support Sir Sikander on this issue and will be at his complete disposal.

M. BARKAT ALI

<sup>1</sup>See F. 215/75, QAP. Not printed.

## 101

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Ibrahim Ali Chishti*

*Telegram, F. 243/1*

*1 September 1941*

Mohammad Ibrahim Ali Chishti, Paisa Akhbar Street, Lahore

Your letter 29th.<sup>1</sup> Have already explained. Constitution does not allow me interfere and sit in appeal over decision Provincial League authority right or wrong. I cannot give League ticket to anyone over head provincial authority.

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

## 102

*Sikander Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 353/46*

THE BOUNDARY,  
SIMLA,  
1 September 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of 29th of July [August]<sup>1</sup> which I received today. You need have no misgivings about any fresh developments here.

I saw your statement<sup>2</sup> in the press and noticed with regret that the portion in which an inference seems to have been drawn from the two statements (Govt. of India communique and my Bombay statement) was so unfortunately worded. Since it was liable to be misinterpreted, I had to issue a brief statement to make the position clear.

Many thanks for the kind sentiments expressed by you, which I reciprocate.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
S. HYAT KHAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 92.

<sup>2</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 286-9.

## 103

*Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari to M. A. Jinnah*

*Telegram, F. 1130/167*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
2 September 1941

Now when I have returned [*sic* for retired] from the public life of British India I shall be grateful if you could release to press for publication my letter of August fourteenth<sup>1</sup> addressed to the League Secretary and my telegram to you dated Aligarh August twenty-ninth.<sup>2</sup>

NAWAB OF CHHATARI

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 91.

104

*M. H. Saiyid to J. G. Laithwaite*

*F. 498/12*

*2 September 1941*

Dear Sir Laithwaite,

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has asked me to forward to you the enclosed copies of the resolutions<sup>1</sup> passed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League during its meeting at Bombay, commencing from the 24th of August 1941, to place them before His Excellency the Viceroy for his information and consideration.

Yours sincerely,

[M. H. SAIYID]

*Private Secretary to M. A. Jinnah*

Sir J. G. Laithwaite,  
Private Secretary to the Viceroy

<sup>1</sup>No. 83.

105

*Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/28*

*2 September 1941*

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

First of all accept my hearty congratulations about [sic for on] the great success of the Working Committee which has been solely due to your unrivalled and God-given leadership. Not only had you been the cause of a historic victory for the Muslim nation but you have also given such a great defeat to the British Government, the like of which cannot be found in the past political tug of war. May God give you long life to lead the Musalmans of India for a very long time.

I did not trouble you before this, firstly because the problems here were not fully settled. Secondly, I did not want to divert your attention to any other direction during this magnificent meeting of the Working Committee. The developments up to date are as follows:

After your departure, the Council kept under consideration, for ten or twelve days, the draft apology as suggested by you. In the beginning, I got the information that they wanted to amend it



but in the end it was accepted, and Syed Abdul Aziz must have informed you to that effect. I had some objections regarding its translation because the translation that was done on behalf of the Government did not carry the full sense of your draft. But ultimately this issue was also settled through Syed Abdul Aziz, and yesterday my apology was published along with the *Firman* of His Exalted Highness in the gazette extraordinary, a copy of which I am sending to you herewith<sup>1</sup> from a local paper.

I made a mistake in not requesting you to prepare a draft of the *Firman* of His Exalted Highness also. This would have been much better. Now the *Firman* that has been published along with my apology is not written by His Exalted Highness but its style shows that it has been written and submitted by the Council. If you carefully examine the second sentence of *Firman* you will find that His Exalted Highness has attached quite a different meaning to my apology and my assurance for the future. However, this question is finished and now it is imperative that the *Firman* prohibiting the participation of *Maashdaran* in politics should be withdrawn. I have got the thing moved by the *Maashdaran* Association and the other *Maashdaran* will also follow suit. If you think proper, please draw the attention of His Exalted Highness, and also please write to Mr. Aziz.

You said that after the settlement of this question you will also consider the appointment of some of the ministers. In the Council, the post of the Finance Member is vacant and Nawab Aqil Jung Bahadur is also going to retire very soon. Therefore, the appointment of two ministers is under consideration. Sir Akbar [Hydari] wanted that the present Finance Secretary, Lyaqat Ullah Khan, should be appointed as the Finance Member. For this, I hear that he has already taken a promise from the Nawab of Chhatari. Lyaqat Ullah Khan does not command popularity in any circle here. He is Sir Akbar's favourite. I wish to place before you the views of the Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, and after having considered them, whatever advice you [may] give will be followed.

In the opinion of the Majlis, at least one member of the Majlis should be given a chance in the ministry. I am from the very beginning against accepting office and, therefore, my Majlis unanimously approves of Moulvi Abdul Hasan Syed Ali, Advocate, as a Minister. The second name is of Mr. Fazal Husain, M. A., LL.B., *Vakil*. If under the present circumstances it is not possible to take in any member of the Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen then I will suggest two names from the retired officers of the State. The first name is of Nawab Akbar Yar

Jung, who has been [a] Judge of the High Court and also the Home Secretary, and is now practising as an advocate. He had a very fair career. He is a capable man. You know him perfectly well. Before this, when you came to appear in ■ case he was your assistant. Last time at the tea party he was sitting beside you and was talking to you for ■ long time. He has a black beard.

The second name is of Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur who was the Chief Engineer before and now after having retired is serving as the Consulting Engineer. He would have been a Minister long before but because [sic] of the opposition of Sir Akbar Hydari. He is a capable man.

You may draw the attention of His Exalted Highness in whatever way you like and if you like I will come to Bombay.

Now when the Nawab of Chhatari has complied with your order and has resigned from the National Defence Council, is it not possible if you draw his attention towards some of the more important services as Secretary, Executive Council etc., that he should take the view of Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen into consideration?

The letter has become very long, and because I did not wish to take into confidence anyone in connection with these issues, that is why I have written it in Urdu. I am sure Matlub-ul-Hasan Saiyid will place its translation before you.<sup>2</sup>

Please convey my and my wife's *salaam* to Miss Jinnah and please let me know<sup>3</sup> about your health.

Yours sincerely,  
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

<sup>2</sup>English version has been printed.

<sup>3</sup>No. 140.

## 106

*Syed Badruddin Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 565/81*

BANKIPORE, SADARGALI,  
PATNA,

3 September 1941

Sir,

Herewith, I send you for your kind perusal the copy of the

resolutions [Nos. 4 & 5] passed at the meeting of the Council of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, held on the 31st [August] 1941.

Obediently yours,  
SYED BADRUDDIN AHMED  
*Secretary,*  
*Bihar Provincial Muslim League*

*Enclosure*  
*F. 565/82*

RESOLUTION NO. 4<sup>1</sup>

This meeting of the Council of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League records its deep sense of appreciation at [sic for for] the attitude adopted by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Sir Syed [Mohammad] Saadulla, and Nawab of Chhatari in withdrawing themselves from the so-called National Defence Council, in pursuance of the mandate of the All India Muslim League Working Committee, thereby maintaining the solidarity of the Musalmans of India and requests Mr. Fazlul Huq, Sir Syed Sultan Ahmad and Begum Shah Nawaz to follow immediately the honest, patriotic and dignified example set by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and others.

RESOLUTION NO. 5

Whereas the Government of Bihar have flagrantly disregarded the just demands of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League to appoint a tribunal for the trials of the cases arising out of the riots in Bihar Sharif, and whereas the local Government of the Province have been unjust and unsympathetic towards the Musalmans of this Province by their uncalled-for imposition of the ban upon the celebration of Bihar Sharif Day, fixed for ventilating the grievances of the Musalmans, and withholding the publication of the Enquiry Report regarding the riots at Bihar Sharif, adopted by the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, and also the omission, on their part, in not exempting the Musalmans of Bihar Sharif from the operation of the punitive Police Tax, although the Government knew full well that the Hindus only were the aggressors in the aforesaid riots, this Council of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, in view of these circumstances, thinks that the Musalmans, especially [those] belonging to the Muslim League in this Province, cannot constantly [sic for consistently] with this [sic for their] self-respect serve any useful purpose by associating themselves with the War Committee.

The Council of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League requests all



those members of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League who are serving on the various War Committees in this Province to disassociate themselves from those Committees forthwith and it is, therefore, resolved that all the Muslim Leaguers who are members of the War Committees should immediately resign those memberships and intimate the fact to the President of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League by the 20th of September, 1941.

SYED BADRUDDIN AHMED

<sup>1</sup>Resolutions Nos. 1 to 3 not traced.

## 107

*Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 441/4-5*

53 LAWRENCE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
4 September 1941

Dear Sir,

With reference to the decision of the All India Muslim League Working Committee regarding disciplinary action against me for having agreed to serve on the National Defence Council, I beg to place the following facts before you:

The exact words of His Excellency the Viceroy, inviting me to serve on the National Defence Council, conveyed to me through the Resident of Kashmir State, are as follows:

It would give ■■■ great pleasure if you would serve as a representative of women and as representative also of the Punjab.

I also find that the Governor of Bombay's letter communicating to you the names of Muslim representatives does not refer to me at all. It is obvious, therefore, that I have not been selected to serve on the National Defence Council as a Muslim.

Having accepted to serve as the sole representative of the women of India, I have to consider seriously whether I should let them down at this eleventh hour. At the same time, the question of maintaining Muslim solidarity at all costs is also naturally weighing heavily on my mind.

I was hoping that, realising the many handicaps under which the Indian women have to spend their lives in our motherland, the Working Committee would be so kind as to allow me to serve the interests of my sex on the Defence Council.



Being the only woman representative, my case is not analogous to any other. I have to give serious consideration to many factors and request you<sup>1</sup> to very kindly extend the time limit in order to give me an opportunity to arrive at a correct decision.

Yours truly,  
JAHAN ARA SHAH NAWAZ

<sup>1</sup>No. 113.

108

*Abdul Latif to M. H. Saiyid*

*F. 1099/268*

SULTANPUR (OUDH),  
5 September 1941

Dear Sir,

I am herewith sending a copy of resolution No. 4 of the meeting of the District Muslim League, Sultanpur, held on 4th September 1941. Kindly put it before Quaid-i-Azam for his kind perusal and information.

Yours faithfully,  
ABDUL LATIF  
*Secretary,*  
*District Muslim League*

*Enclosure*  
*F. 1099/268-9*

RESOLUTION  
[*Original in Urdu*]

In compliance with the demand of the Muslim League and Muslim public, the District Muslim League, Sultanpur [Awadh], whole-heartedly congratulate Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Sir Mohammad Saadulla, Premiers of the Punjab and Assam, respectively, on resigning from the membership of Defence Council. This District Muslim League also congratulate Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League Working Committee on their dignified and successful handling of the matter.

## 109

*Mohammad Yousuf to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

IMPORTANT/CONFIDENTIAL

2 NAWAB YUSUF ROAD,  
ALLAHABAD,  
5 September 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Allow me to congratulate you on the masterly tact and ability with which you handled the [Muslim] League situation. The prestige of the League has undoubtedly gone up much to the discomfiture and distress of those who were fondly hoping a split in the Muslim camp with a view to making it out that the League represented only a section of the Musalmans [where]as the Congress represented a large section of the Hindus. Strenuous efforts are being made on the part of the Poona Conference people to outmanoeuvre the League in collaboration with the Congress by showing lip service to the Government and making it out that the League is offering non-cooperation at a critical time and thus not entitled to any sympathy of the British Government. Attempt is being made to prove that the Muslims are unreliable elements under the altered circumstances in Iran and other Muslim countries and, therefore, the Government should trust the Hindus to tide over the difficulties during the War time. Puerile though this attempt may seem on the part of the Poona Conference people, yet it may mislead the British Government and the Viceroy as their activities have already succeeded in misleading Mr. Amery and the Viceroy on the expansion question through the help of those leading Musalmans who, in their great folly, thought only of personal interest and personal aggrandisement in the eyes of the British Government.

The demand of the League for a clear declaration that the British Government will not waver from the position it has taken hitherto, and that only an agreed constitution drawn up by the Indians themselves will be acceptable to the British Government, and further that the Muslims will not be compelled to accept any constitution unacceptable and unpalatable to them is a vital and right demand. I hope, on this point, a statement will be forthcoming from the Government though great pressure will be brought by the Hindus on the Government not to reaffirm the previous declarations on this point made by

Mr. Amery and the Viceroy. The Hindus will make it out that under the altered circumstances of the world situation today, it will be better to have a strong Central Government as it will be more useful to the British Government than ■ confederation or a Hindu and ■ Muslim federation of provincial sovereign units. So far, we have made an unanswerable case in favour of Pakistan. But it seems to me now that Pakistan scheme has become dependent upon the world situation as it would be after the War. We will do well to bear this in mind. Pakistan still holds the field on the basis of reason and argument, if approached with [an] unbiased mind. It is clear that the Hindus cannot impose a Central Government on us without our consent as we cannot impose our Pakistan [Scheme] without the consent of the Hindus if the world conditions shape themselves differently. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that we should succeed in winning [over] the Hindus or we must rely upon the British Government to strengthen our position by the moral help they can give through their prestige and power as ■ ruling nation.

Even treating our problems separately without any reference to the world situation, we shall have to think of solving our problem by convincing the Hindus of the merit of Pakistan, otherwise the Hindus, though they are out to snatch away power from the British Government, will as a matter of fact show lip sympathy to the Government and make out a case of a strong Central Government of the whole of India, which possibly may appeal to the British Parliament. No doubt it will be fatal on the part of the British Government to think so if they are really going to bestow a sort of Dominion Status after the War. The Hindus, if they get a scheme of Central Government, will give a fresh lease of life to the British Government in India, though it may be for a very limited period, but it is obvious that Pakistan may give a longer lease of life as an interim period to the British Government in India, and even if an agreed scheme of constitution is to be launched immediately, it will undoubtedly strengthen the position of the British Commonwealth or Indo-British-American federation, including other allied nations. So you will see that the Hindus are manoeuvring to bring about a direct clash between the Government and the League by insidious methods. We must be chary of it. I will not weary you with a long letter. I hope you will not mind my wasting your time with this letter and will spare a few minutes to glance through it. I have some important things to discuss with you with a view to seek[ing] guidance in regard to the internal policy



of the management of the League affairs. I shall gladly come up to Bombay to talk over matters with you if you summon me.<sup>2</sup>

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD YOUSUF  
*Nawab; Knight*

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 296-8.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 121 for Jinnah's reply.

## 110

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/72-4*

51 EZRA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
6 September 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The dilly-dallying and shilly-shallying of Fazlul Huq has reached the limit. I do not think it [is] possible for anyone to tax human endurance and patience more than Fazlul Huq. The Musalmans, from every corner of India, are looking up to you. Their eyes are focussed on your next move. The ten days have elapsed. Fazlul Huq, after assuring the Party in the Assembly that he would be in Bombay by the 7th instant, has not yet moved out of Calcutta, and what is more surprising is that today's newspapers feature a statement of his to the effect that the Secondary Education Bill demands his whole-[sic for full] time presence in Calcutta until its passage. This stunt of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde is alright for a cinema show but political nonsense of this calibre should never be encouraged.

Late yesterday evening the *Telegraph*, which is a quarter *anna* rag, featured an interview by the United Press with Mr. Fazlul Huq in which he declared that he was resigning the premiership of the Province as his present position was untenable and was likely to be misunderstood by either the Government or the Musalmans of India. He also stated that he would be reconstituting his Cabinet if called upon to do so. This morning the Associated Press features a clean contradiction of the interview and says in the words of Fazlul Huq, "I have not granted any interview nor have I authorised anyone to make any such statement as has appeared in the press last night." The fact, however, is that Fazlul Huq did say what the United Press released to the public. The United Press could not have



created news of this type. It is too serious ■ stunt for a responsible and first-class news agency. Pothan Joseph will be commenting today on Fazlul Huq and his lack of dignity in constantly making himself ridiculous by issuing statements and contradicting them a few hours later. Well, Sir, you must do something now. Sufficient time has been given, and if Fazlul Huq is out to play more hide and seek, I feel that a halt must be called.

I am amazed at Begum Shah Nawaz's request to give her further time.<sup>1</sup> Fazlul Huq at least gave assurance that he would be seeing you in Bombay. She gives no reason for asking for more time. I hope you will not accede to her request.

You must have, of course, before receipt of this letter, taken action against Sir Sultan Ahmad, for he has taken up his post as Law Member.

I agree with you that the time has come for you to take full stock of the Muslim position in India. The League is strong enough, thanks to you, to be able to stand four square and face the Premiers, Governors, the Viceroy and even the Secretary of State for India. When those in our file betray us, and when those in our midst sell the community for a mess of pottage, then they have to be weeded out. A healthy plant requires systematic pruning—so does a healthy political organisation. Unhealthy overgrowth and adhesions must be pruned if the plant is to thrive. God has given you this opportunity and I am sure you will utilise it.

I spoke to you about your weekly, the *Dawn*. I was unable to convince you fully that a journal or a newspaper, in order to be a success and in order to command influence, must be first class. Half measures, I have found in my little experience, do not pay. Of course, since my departure you must have given this matter your further consideration and I shall be interested to learn what you have finally decided.

Coming to the *Star of India*, Sir Adamjee Hajee Dawood is thinking of crying [*sic* for calling] a halt to his obligations and my brother tells me that he too will definitely have to withdraw himself at the end of this year. May I request you, and kindly keep this request extremely confidential, to write nice letters to Sir Adamjee Hajee Dawood and to my brother and tell them of the great service that the *Star of India* is rendering to the Musalmans and to the Muslim League, particularly since the beginning of this year. Please tell them of the service they have been rendering to the community and to the Muslim nation by helping to keep alive the *Star of India*, which is

daily increasing in strength and influence. Tell them as you told me that there are some who run about for community and preach its cause. There are some who do silent work to further the progress of the community and there are others who assist the community and its cause by sitting in their seats and helping sources that carry on the struggle for the community. Now, Adamjee and Ispahani come under the last category. They should not withdraw their support; and ask them to continue their valuable assistance. With the progress of time, the loss that the *Star of India* is incurring monthly will gradually diminish because the *Star of India* is no longer a rag that it used to be, but is a first-class daily newspaper. It is bought for the matter it contains. Had normal conditions prevailed, the *Star of India* would have by now been on its own feet. Tell them that the improved standard must necessarily have time to demonstrate its effect. Advertising agencies are just beginning to take serious notice of the existence of the *Star of India* and that advertisements and support will come in. I am quite sure that Sir Adamjee and my brother will respond to your request. Your words and your requests carry weight, mine may not.

I met Sir Adamjee at a dinner last night and he was very pleased with the stand the League has taken. His pleasure sent a ray of hope through my brain. I said to myself that if you approached him right now to support the *Star of India* financially you would be striking the iron while it was hot. Hence this letter.

Believe me, the Musalmans of India have been heartened by the stand that the Working Committee took up at its meeting of the 24th, 25th and 26th of August.<sup>2</sup> The Musalmans walk with their heads upright feeling that their political organisation can shun title holders and no longer respect titular heads.

I have wasted enough of your time, so I close with *salaam* to Miss Jinnah and [your] self.

Yours sincerely,  
HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 107.

<sup>2</sup>No. 83.

## 111

*M. A. Jinnah to Shah Nawaz Khan*

*F. 373/22*

*6 September 1941*

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 31st of August<sup>1</sup> and I found in the press announcement made by you that Mian Amiruddin was adopted as the League candidate with my approval. Malik Barkat Ali also wired<sup>2</sup> to me, whether this was correct. I naturally had to reply, and I sent him the following wire:

I have refused interfere. I do not approve Amiruddin. It is for local authority League to decide.

If the press has only published one sentence from the telegram it is no fault of mine. My telegram, the full text of which I have referred to above, is correct.

In your press statement you say that in the announcement made by you, you had not given the slightest indication that I had given my approval in favour of Mian Amiruddin but in the announcement which I have seen in the press, it was said that I had given my approval in favour of Mian Amiruddin. You may refer, for instance, to the *Star of India*.

Hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 95.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 215/76-7, QAP. Not printed.

## 112

*Raghib Ahsan & Others to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/179-89*

[*Extracts*]

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
*8 September 1941*

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We have met here Moulana M[ohamma]d Akrum Khan and came



to know the superb political tact with which you frustrated the British edition of the Mass Contact. We congratulate you on your great success. We are glad to see you score a victory on Amery-Linlithgow. We welcome it as the first victory of Muslim public opinion, created by your leadership.

We strongly feel, nay we are convinced, that Sikander Hyat Khan and Fazlul Huq are the spies and representatives of the British Government in your League high command. They are in the League high command not to represent the Muslims but to represent and protect British interests. Their one function in the League high command has been to undermine the League leadership from within. Their one object in the Provincial Leagues of Bengal and the Punjab has been to obstruct, oppose and hamper progress of the League organization in their provinces from without and to prevent the League from becoming so powerful that it may control them. Their object on the other hand has always been to use the League as their personal tool and to control or exploit it for their own selfish ends.

We believe that Sir Sikander decided to bow to your order to resign from the Defence Council clearly with the connivance of Simla in the greater interest of the British.

#### LEAGUE AT THE CROSSROADS

The Muslims have implicit faith in your leadership which, I believe, has been a blessing of God to us. They are ready to go with you any length. But they have lost all faith in your Bengal and the Punjab lieutenants.

#### DYNAMIC FAITH AND CREED

The League has procured a clear creed—Pakistan—for itself. But it needs galvanization through religious faith and zeal. It needs a spiritual revolution and moral regeneration to serve as the foundation and fountain-head for the Pakistan movement.

#### WHAT MUSLIMS THINK OF THE LEAGUE POLICY

The Hindus has [*sic* for have] got the immense resources of press power, money power, trade power, industrial power, science power and material power to offer on condition that the British agree to betray the Muslims and destroy both the Muslims' present and future and guarantee Hindu *raj* under British protection.

#### THE CENTRE

Our demand regarding equal representation through the League at the Centre during the War has not only been rejected but in practice Muslim minority position at the Centre has been made an accomplished fact for ever and the League entirely ignored on the matter of representation.

#### FUTURE CONSTITUTION

The League demand regarding the future constitution of India



that no commitment or settlement for any Government at the Centre, interim or final, will be made with any party without the approval of the All India Muslim League has been clearly negatived.

#### ISLAMIC COUNTRIES

The Muslim League demand that the Indian army should not be used against any Muslim country or State has been rejected by the rape of Iraq and Iran by the help of the Indian army.

Mr. [Winston] Churchill has declared in the Parliament that there will be no change in British policy in Palestine.

After the rape of Iran and the wanton destruction of neutrality and integrity of Iran and the disarming of the Iranians, the Muslims can command no respect and no influence. We have lost all honour and all voice. The British have seen that we are helpless, spiritless and faithless. We can do nothing against them because we have lost all confidence in our own self [*sic* for selves] and all faith in Islam.

The British can now march against Arabia and Turkey and can bombard Mecca and Madina with impunity.

#### DEMAND FOR ANOTHER STATEMENT

The demand for yet another statement or pledge from the British is puerile and ridiculous. It is an insult to our self-respect. We cannot leave our fate and future to the verbal assurances and pledges of the British.

#### OUR SUGGESTIONS

We, therefore, submit the following for your careful consideration:<sup>1</sup>

That a special session of the All India Muslim League should be called as soon as possible to take the mandate of the nation on the new situation and to decide for [*sic* for on] a programme of action.

That, in the meanwhile, you should settle matters with the Ahrars and Jami'at al-Ulama for working unitedly under the League banner.

That the League should adopt the policy of struggle for the freedom and integrity of Islam in India and the world. The League should demand (i) the recognition of the right of national self-determination for Muslim India and (ii) the freedom and independence of Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Syria and other Muslim countries and peoples.

That the Muslim League should adopt an all-India membership pledge and should enforce it in all the provinces without delay.

That the Muslim League should launch and declare a preparation programme [and] raise a fixed amount of national fund and a fixed number of pledgers, *fidaeen* and volunteers within a fixed period.

That the *League Gazette* should be started without delay from Delhi.

#### A GIVE-AND-TAKE VIA MEDIA

Our suggestions are meant to provide ■ *via media* between the

League and the Jami'at. The League should accept the authority of representative and sincere 'Ulama of character and position in the matters of *Shari'at* and *Tabligh* and the 'Ulama should recognise the League's political claim to represent Muslim India and also pledge to fight, under the League banner, the war of Muslim independence.

Hoping for hopeful response,

We remain,

Yours most sincerely,

RAGHIB AHSAN

*and Nine Members of the Calcutta District  
Muslim League Working Committee*

<sup>1</sup>See No. 130 for Jinnah's reply.

## 113

*M. A. Jinnah to Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz  
Telegram, F. 441/9*

BOMBAY,

8 September 1941

Begum Shah Nawaz, Lawrence Road, Lahore

Your telegram 3rd<sup>1</sup> letter 4th<sup>2</sup> received. Every aspect of your case including what you repeat in your letter 4th September was fully considered. Your association as member Muslim League with scheme which was rejected and condemned by League is violation League decision policy. Cannot cut yourself up different capacities to flout mandate. Please comply Working Committee resolution<sup>3</sup> without delay. Clear ten days' notice expires 10th September. Hoping you will not force my hand take action according Working Committee resolution.

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See F. 441/6, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>No. 107.

<sup>3</sup>No. 83, Resolution No. 4.

114

*M. A. Jinnah to A. Sattar Siddiqui**F. 450/2**8 September 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th instant<sup>1</sup> and let me inform you that there is no foundation for the various reports about my touring the Province of C. P. and my going to places like Jubbulpore, Akola, Burhanpur and Raipur.

I have already intimated [sic] to some of the suggestions that had come to me that it is not possible for me to commit myself.

As at present advised, I shall come to Nagpur straight to preside over the All India Muslim Students' Federation Conference during the Christmas week. I also will make no engagements during my stay at Nagpur, except through the General Secretary, Reception Committee, 5th Session of the All India Muslim Students' Federation. But no engagement should be made on my behalf by the General Secretary without my final approval. The final programme would be considered by me and approved. Till then no misleading announcement should be made of my engagements at Nagpur.

I wish you every success and I hope that you are proceeding with your arrangements in most satisfactory manner.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

115

*S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah**F. 797/26**9 September 1941*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to offer you an apology for writing this letter, once again troubling you. I am anxious to know, only if convenient and if [there be] no objection, whether my letter, dated the 22nd August<sup>1</sup> with enclosure, my letter, dated 27th July<sup>2</sup> and express letter dated [nil] and my registered letter, dated the 3rd of August 1941<sup>3</sup> have

reached you. I realise you are so overworked and that I have no desire to put any further strain, but it is only by way of enquiry so as to be sure of their reaching [you] that I, after considerable hesitation, decided to write to you once again. We in Bihar are extremely thankful to *Allah* for your triumph over the might of H. E. and H. M. Govt. Really, our prestige has been enhanced in the world's estimation. I am further thankful to you and your Working Committee for passing resolutions, suitably worded, on Bihar riots and our grievances against local Government. I hope it will produce a solitary [*sic* for salutary] effect. May I express only one surprise and it is this that the Working Committee has expressed no opinion on recent serious development in Persia. However, you<sup>4</sup> are the best judge and would do only what is right in the Islamic countries' interest.

Please excuse [my] troubling [you],

ISMAIL  
President,  
*Bihar Provincial Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>No. 74.

<sup>2</sup>No. 539, *JP*, XVI, 685-7.

<sup>3</sup>Not traced.

<sup>4</sup>See No. 131 for Jinnah's reply.

## 116

*M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 310/8

51 EZRA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
10 September 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I gave you an undertaking that we would try to run the *Star of India*. We have done so since June 1940, Sir Adamjee Hajee Dawood and ourselves sharing the loss 50:50. We agreed mutually to stand a loss up to Rs. 20,000 for one year, but now the loss has reached Rs. 30,000. Sir Adamjee has been kind enough to increase his contribution to Rs. 15,000. He will not commit himself further. I have promised to stand by this paper by the end of this year. Every opportunity will be given to the *Star of India* to stand on its own legs [*sic*] in this time. If it fails to do so, there is nothing else left but to close down the show. If you think that the *Star of India* has improved



and is doing useful service and has got to be kept alive to carry on the work of the [Muslim] League, then please from now [on] see as to how from the 1st of January 1942 this paper will meet its losses in case it is not in a position to pay its own way. You have raised a fair amount of money for a paper in Bombay. Why not make it an all-India show with branches in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Madras and get all the provinces to do their bit in support of the cause? Personally, I am very disappointed with the help that this paper has been receiving from the Musalmans of Bengal. Although our circulation is over 3,500 copies per day, the Muslim subscribers hardly are about 900. They do not realise the importance of having a press to ventilate their community's point of view. It is up to you as the leader of the Muslims of India to explain to the Muslim public the importance of newspapers in politics. Since the *Star of India* is pledged to the principles, creed and policy of the League, it naturally alienates the interests that are hostile to or even disinterested in Muslim politics. The Europeans are giving up gradually because it is irksome to them to read political views and squabbles that do not worry the majority of them. The Hindus never subscribed as this paper was nothing else but a rag before improvements were brought about by us. Now, owing to the increased communal feelings, the Hindus have started another paper, the *Telegraph*, which is backed by the Hindu Mahasabha, to compete with the *Star of India* on the streets of Calcutta.

I trust this will find you and Miss Jinnah in the best of health.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. ISPAHANI

117

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/75*

51 EZRA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
11 September 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of telegram, despatched to you today, which expresses briefly the reaction of Muslim Calcutta, which represents Musalmans from all over the Province, to the

letter addressed by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League [Liaquat Ali Khan]<sup>1</sup> and released for publication today. I was in possession of this letter at 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon. I am refraining from issuing a statement—tearing his childish argument to ribbons, because I do not want in any way to anticipate what you will do. This time Fazlul Huq will find that he has over-taxed the patience of the Muslims who have continuously given in to his whims, not because they were admirers of him but because they wanted to maintain a united Muslim front in this Province and thereby to reap the advantages that were legitimately due to the community and were wrongfully withheld from it for so many generations. The Muslim League Ministers have also found that the policy of appeasement cannot be pursued any further without causing serious damage to the prestige, position and interests of Muslim community as a whole, not only in Bengal but all over India. They will join in the fight, and from what I can see the fight is on right now. Either Fazlul Huq will have to climb down and come to his senses or he will have to perish. If we are weaker than him, we are prepared to go under, but fight we will and with *Allah* behind us we shall fight unto death. This time we are not asleep. Fazlul Huq has said far too much for the size of his mouth. The Musalmans of Bengal will demonstrate that the assertion that he represents the Muslim public opinion in this Province is wrong and that the Muslim public opinion stands behind the League. In other words it stands behind the Muslim organisation and not behind Fazlul Huq, the individual.

I shall be writing and telegraphing to you more often in order to keep you well-posted with our moves here. Suffice it to say that all the League Ministers are up in arms this time. Nawab Musharraf Hossain's attitude is not known. As a matter of fact, nobody cares what he does because he has never been considered more than a non-entity.

Yours sincerely,  
HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>See Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence 1936-1948*, Karachi, 1976, 641-51, Appendix III.

*Enclosure**M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah**Telegram, F. 519/286-7*

CALCUTTA,

11 September 1941

Spontaneous strikes Islamia College Madrassah, Jubilee School, Muslim High School other Muslim institutions as protest against Fazlul Huq's letter [to Liaquat Ali Khan]. Also Muslim students' demonstrations your support. Mill areas contemplating *hartal* tomorrow. Calcutta League Working Committee meeting tomorrow night. Provincial Working Committee emergency meeting summoned. Agenda consideration Huq's letter, refutation charges, expressing absolute confidence [in] Quaid-i-Azam. This time strong unprecedented resentment and Muslim papers opening broadside attack.

HASSAN

## 118

*Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 329/136-9*

PESHAWAR,

11 September 1941

Dear Sir,

Mr. [Fazlul] Huq's action is rather puzzling. Anyhow he resigns [from] the N.D.C. [National Defence Council] and shows by his action the force of our argument. His resignation from the [Muslim] League is rather confusing. Anyhow, I pray to God that good will come out of it.

I enclose herewith the letter of Secretary [to] Governor, NWFP.<sup>1</sup> I saw him [Governor George Cunningham] at once and had an hour [-long] talk with him. He is a Pakistani in the sense that there should be within India a confederation and not a federation or rather a United States of India within free India under London for the period of transition. He is a good-hearted Governor and is anxious to see ■ settlement between the League through you and H.E. the Viceroy and I am sure he will make a fresh attempt to arrange a settlement through your interview with the



Viceroy. He came direct from Kashmir where he was holidaying. He wanted in a nutshell the [following] points at issue between the League and the Viceroy:

- a. An assurance that Pakistan will be a live issue at the next Round Table Conference or Constitutional Committee after the War, which we have already got except the last statement of the Secretary of State for India which throws a little doubt on it, but I think Mr. Churchill's last statement again reassures it when he refers to the August Declaration<sup>2</sup> as the sheet anchor.
- b. Mr. Jinnah accepted two seats out of five, provided fifth is Dr. Ambedkar or other representative of the Depressed Classes; and in case of ten we will be entitled to four, provided important portfolios are given, not necessarily Defence or Finance but not Forest or Jails.
- c. When Central machinery (interim) starts functioning, non-official Advisors in Section 93 provinces, the Central arrangement should not prejudge Pakistan or operate as an estoppel or imply acquiescence on our part in the federal scheme.
- d. National Defence Council should have some voice over the war efforts but on the last point the League will not insist much if we get proper representation.
- e. Lastly, irrespective of these items, if the Viceroy gives him heart-to-heart confidence and assures him upon a word of honour about Pakistan, items b—e, are of secondary importance, provided Muslim leadership is taken into real tangible confidence and partnership. He asked me who should be the peace-maker. I said none else except the Viceroy and Mr. Jinnah with a change of heart only, otherwise League's fear of perfidious Albion [England regarded as a treacherous nation by others, particularly France] holds good because I am less organised and you are afraid of more organised Hindus.

I assure you he will make another attempt and let there be a little give-and-take on both parts on details as you are always prepared to do if it is a real heart-to-heart settlement. I also assured the Governor that Mr. Jinnah does not believe in haggling on details, provided there is an absolutely straight and clean deal. I definitely told him that Mr. Jinnah is the only gentleman who can deliver the goods on behalf of Muslim India and his method will



be direct and drastic. He will make a call on Muslim India—come out with your blood and money—and the community will make a ready response which will be most startling.

A Punjabi MLA, who is a quiet worker and knows Sikander's mind, told me in a fit of absent-mindedness that there is a complete break between Sikander and his old props and Sikander has thrown [in] his lot once for all with his community. Let there be recognition of this fact by the League.

I went to Lahore. I met Mr. A[bdus]sattar [Khan] Niazi and he revealed all the developments leading to his candidature and his correspondence with you. He is a good boy and being an outsider he has not a ghost of chance of success. He is made a pawn. M[alik] Barkat Ali has lent him Rs.250 plus Rs.75 for depositing security and has got a pronote from him. He has no other funds for his election. He is at your disposal and he has told me that his last correspondence and telegram to you make the point abundantly clear that if you want him to withdraw he will gladly withdraw. Mr. Gauba, Mr. Niazi and Mr. Aminuddin Sehrai have made a common platform against Mian Amiruddin and they are up to strengthening the hands of Mrs. Gauba. Niazi is a promising young fellow and I do not want that a black mark of failure should stick to him. You are dragged unnecessarily in this side-show. In the beginning your interest in the matter was most appropriate and if you think (subject to your approval of course) you may kindly stick to your non-interference and permit Mr. Niazi to withdraw if he likes. Mr. M. Barkat Ali is not playing up and Mamdot is committed to Amiruddin. Your telegram<sup>3</sup> of non-interference was exploited. The last passage, "I do not approve of Mian Amiruddin," was the subject of various posters and the first portion, "I do not interfere,"<sup>4</sup> was deliberately suppressed. Unclean tactics—and I think what you meant was that I [you] never gave approval for Mian Amiruddin.

I assure you Mamdot's original Urdu posters said according to verbal suggestions of Mr. Jinnah, Provincial Board *suo moto* announced Amiruddin's name and the word 'approval' was put for the word *hidayat*—another deliberate misunderstanding. This

is the recital of facts and I submit these for favour of information.<sup>5</sup>

With respectful regards,

Yours obediently,  
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN  
B.A., LL.B. (ALIG.),  
*Advocate;*  
MLA

<sup>1</sup>See F. 329/135, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosure to No. 506, JP, XV, 687-9.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 111.

<sup>4</sup>"This portion was given to Hindu press only" is written at the corner of the page.

<sup>5</sup>Jinnah replied that his suggestions would be carefully considered. See F. 329/149, QAP. Not printed.

## 119

*M. A. Jinnah to N. B. Khare*

*SHC, CP & Berar II/104*

*13 September 1941*

Dear Dr. Khare,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th of August<sup>1</sup> and also of the 11th of September 1941.<sup>2</sup>

It is not possible for me to discuss the matter by means of correspondence as all the information that you have been able to give me is hypothetical, and very vague and problematic. I am, therefore, unable to deal with it, but if you feel inclined to come to Bombay to discuss the matter personally, I shall be glad to see you<sup>3</sup> in order to understand the exact position.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 94.

<sup>2</sup>See SHC, CP & Berar II/103. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>Dr. Khare proposed to meet Jinnah at Bombay but later changed the venue to New Delhi. See SHC, CP & Berar II/107. Not printed

120

*M. A. Jinnah to Syed Badshah Hussain*

F. 826/132

13 September 1941

Dear Sir,

While I wish you every success in your venture to bring out the Urdu encyclopaedia, as you propose to do, I regret very much indeed that I am unable at present to contribute any article on the subject of *Minorities in India* because it will naturally relate to the future problem of India's constitution.

You know that the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League contemplates the framing of a scheme of India's future constitution, which is still under consideration. I, however, wish to make it clear to you that so far as the Musalmans are concerned we have already declared that they are not a minority but a nation by themselves. Having regard to the position in which I am placed just now, as President of the All India Muslim League, which is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Musalmans of India, I cannot allow myself to make contributions by way of articles to any publication on the subject mentioned by you as the question of India's future constitution is still under consideration and pending.

I am very glad to hear that many prominent persons have agreed to write weighty articles in your encyclopaedia, and I wish once again, every success to your venture.

Hoping that you will appreciate and understand my position. I am sorry that I will not be able to comply with your request.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

121

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Yousuf*

F. 469/76

13 September 1941

Dear Sir Mohammad Yousuf,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it.

Of course, if you care to come to Bombay I shall be very glad to see you. But I may tell you that I am fully aware of the various points which you have emphasised in your letter. That is the reason why we have called the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League at Delhi on the 26th of October to consider the whole situation.

As at present advised, I hope to be in Delhi by the middle of October and hope to see you there.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 109.

## 122

*M. A. Jinnah to Raghieb Ahsan*

*F. 204/190*

*13 September 1941*

Dear Mr. Raghieb Ahsan,

I have received your telegram of the 12th<sup>1</sup> and also your letter of the 10th instant.<sup>2</sup>

I am extremely sorry that it is not possible for me to attend the Muslim Students' Pakistan Conference on the 19th and 20th of September. But I wish them all success.

I am glad that Mr. Suhrawardy has agreed to preside over the Conference and if he desires, I will send him a message.<sup>3</sup> Please ask him to send me a wire.<sup>4</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1&2</sup>Not traced.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 133.

<sup>4</sup>See F. 458/27, QAP. Not printed.



## 123

*M. A. Jinnah to Begum Mohammad Ali Jauhar*

*F. 213/1*

*13 September 1941*

Dear Begum Sahiba,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th instant<sup>1</sup> and in the first instance let me offer my sincerest sympathies in your bereavement and the loss of your brother, Muazzam Ali Khan.

I am glad that you approve of the decision of the Working Committee<sup>2</sup> [of All India Muslim League] that met in Bombay on the 24th of August. Of course, we missed you and were deprived of your advice and counsel when we were face to face with a very great crisis in the history of not only the Muslim League but of the Musalmans of India. It is a satisfaction to me that you agree with our decision and I appreciate very much indeed the kind references that you have made to me personally in doing my best.

Hoping you are well [and] with kindest regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 83.

## 124

*M. A. Jinnah to Sikander Hyat Khan*

*F. 353/39*

*13 September 1941*

Dear Sir Sikander Hyat Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st of September<sup>1</sup> and regret that I was not able to attend to it earlier owing to pressure of work and besides there was no urgency.

I am sorry I cannot agree with your view that my statement<sup>2</sup> regarding the Government of India Communique and your Bombay statement<sup>3</sup> were liable to be misinterpreted; much less unfortunate. It was entirely my own opinion on the facts stated by me that the Viceroy has double-crossed you; and I took the facts from your Bombay statement, the Communique, letter of the Bombay Governor

dated the 20th of July sent to me<sup>4</sup> and other surrounding circumstances. My statement did not attribute to you the plain acquisition [*sic* for accusation] that I had levelled against the Viceroy. That was my own opinion based on facts before me.

However, it is not a matter of great importance, and is not worth bothering about although I see from the press reports that you have in your recent statement stated that you would have been guilty of "treachery" if you had remained as member of the so-called National Defence Council after this exposure.

I am putting all this before you to explain my position so that there may be no misunderstanding between us.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 102.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 102, note 2.

<sup>3</sup>Enclosure to No. 82.

<sup>4</sup>No. 519, JP, XVI, 655-6.

## 125

*Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 329/144-6*

PESHAWAR,  
14 September 1941

Dear Sir,

Your statesmanlike statement<sup>1</sup> on Mr. Huq's resignation and controversial statement is glorious and I tell you everybody in the NWFP admires the high dignity of its tone and the logic of the arguments. The statement is most impressive for its omissions.

May God Almighty grant you guidance and light to conduct domestic misfortunes [*sic*] in such a characteristic way of discipline and avoidance of personal petty squabbles.

Mr. Huq looks small by his personal remarks but he does not mean what he says and being impulsive in the extreme he says things which he should not. His resignation and letter are also tragic for words and tears. His dilemma is unenviable. He has to placate his European group. He has to pacify his politically-conscious Muslim group and he has not the guts to face his high

officials in spite of his disclaimer. I am glad he has found a way out of the fix in which he was. He was in a veritable *cul-de-sac* and the present position, with your usual charity and high soul, will still admit of reconciliation at some future date when the dust of the present controversy subsides. Let us pray that this will be for the good of us all. I can never forget your remarks that any action against or disloyalty to Muslim League in Bengal will not be brooked by Muslim Bengal are literally too true as these demonstrations in Calcutta show; but your statement will throw cold water on it. We are so grateful to you for your restrained statement, otherwise Mr. Huq's statement is so flimsy that it can be smashed to smithereens—charity and restraint sometimes are the best answers to high-range invectives or ungenerous comments, and his comments are most ungenerous but as they come from Mr. Huq, therefore, these should be passed over. The letter is Huq-like and that is its only grace—saving grace. You have killed him by courtesy.

Thank God, Mr. Churchill has reverted to the August Declaration of 1940 in which "mansions" were definitely pledged to India and this reversion to and reaffirmation of the fact that Pakistan will be an open and live issue is reassuring. So that cloud which Mr. Amery's last statement threw on Pakistan issue has been dispelled by Mr. Churchill's statement and that requires recognition by Europeans at your kind hands [*sic*].

Mr. Amery's statement in the [House of] Commons on National Defence Council makes a distinction between Muslim League and Muslim India. That is to be replied to by the President, if you kindly approve of it.

I think that at this juncture ■ long statement by you to the English press in England about the aims and ideals of the League and its consistent attitude towards war efforts and its present policy, in spite of provocation, will be most useful and helpful. This is a suggestion which is respectfully commended to your kind attention.

With humble regards,

Yours obediently,  
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

# 126

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*Telegram, F. 519/288*

CALCUTTA,

16 September 1941

Sunday's demonstration great success. Hindu press and news agencies supporting Fazlul Huq. Huq raising irrelevant issues to smokescreen misdeeds. Latest making Shaheed scapegoat with support of his Proja members in coalition party. We determined fight him. Am laid up fever.

HASSAN

# 127

*Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/1*

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,

17 September 1941

My dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Just a line to say that, thank God, Bahadur Yar Jung's case was satisfactorily settled by me. I mean the written apology which the President of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen was to submit to me (prepared by you when you were here) was accepted by me and my Government, while the result of that was that I forgave Bahadur Yar Jung and warned him to be careful in future not to make any more silly mistakes again, as you know he is not a real politician like the President of the Muslim League who takes everything into consideration before he takes any step, no matter in what affair or business, and thus he is gaining reputation all over India.

However, I appreciate your valuable help in this matter which brought everything to a satisfactory close and also to say how pleased I was to see you and to discuss various matters with you recently in



Hyderabad which were the burning topics of the day.

Hope you are well,

Yours sincerely,  
[MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN]

128

*Mohammad Abdul Jabbar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 874/206-7*

PAHARI IMLI,  
DELHI,  
17 September 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry that my registered letter<sup>1</sup> is not yet acknowledged.<sup>2</sup> In the same letter I enclosed a letter of my unfortunate brother. His letter, however, was answered<sup>3</sup> for which many thanks.

My brother has sent a letter to Mr. Huyssman of Belgium through Mr. Attlee,<sup>4</sup> MP, Lord Privy Seal etc. London, England. I think it proper to send a copy of this letter to you as well. Therefore, I am enclosing this letter for your perusal.

Some days ago I had asked a friend of mine to send you a copy of my humble work, titled *Din and its Nature*. I request you to please accept it and read it.

I am starting [to write] a series of books on Islam, its philosophy and its bearing on the modern problems. In case you like my work, I will ask you to introduce it as ■ text book for all the Muslim Leaguers and other Muslims. It is the very first scientific treatise issued in India. It is a work of great and tedious labour.

Muslims cannot be united if they do not agree to certain basal facts of Islam. It is their united convictions on vital questions that unite them solidly.

It is very necessary that Muslims take and attach themselves strongly to a single leader who, of course, must himself be a true and good Muslim in order to lead them according to the principles and aims of Islam.

Laws made by men can be destroyed by men. Laws made by men or man to rule over men are always faulty. It is Islam only that abolishes rule of men or man on men. The cry of Islam is: rule of *Allah* through the Caliph of *Allah*, for the people of *Allah*. These are,

of course, ways and means to adapt the eternal law of Islam to the modern conditions through the proper channels, established also through the same eternal law. *In glorium et infinitum.*

Very sincerely yours,  
MOHAMMAD ABDUL JABBAR KHEIRI  
M. A., Ph.D.  
Professor

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 135.

<sup>3</sup>Jinnah told Sattar Kheiri in reply that his suggestions would be carefully considered. See *Pirzada, Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, 185.

<sup>4</sup>See No. 303 for his reply.

*Enclosure*

*Mohammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri to M. Camille Huyssman*

*F. 874/208-9*

DEHRA DUN JAIL,  
U.P.,  
[22 August 1941]

Dear M. Huyssman,

One could hardly expect you to remember an event which took place about twenty-four years back. But the peculiar circumstances of the time, place and occasion will probably help you to remember it easily. Those were the times of the World War I. A meeting of the Socialist International was to take place in Stockholm to consider the possibilities of peace. You were the General Secretary at that time. It was the year 1917, the month of September or October. Two Indians belonging to an Indian Patriotic League met you and discussed with you the Indian problems. You took very keen and sympathetic interest. Then you asked them to write on paper their idea for the best solution of the Indian problem. A few days later they submitted to you a written statement. It was the partition of India into ■ Muslim India and a Hindu India. I am sure you will have remembered it, for at that time you were much surprised with the idea.

In fairness to Mr. Amery, the present Secretary of State for India, the British and the Indian Governments and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, I wish that this truth be known to the world because the opponents of the All India Muslim League accuse Mr. Jinnah as a British agent who is hindering the

progress of India towards freedom and liberty. They also accuse the British and Indian Governments by saying that it is they, the Britishers, who have given the idea of the partition of India to Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League in order to keep the political opinion in India divided. This is not true. Whatever may be the faults of the Britishers, it is certainly not they who have given this idea to Mr. Jinnah or the Muslims of India. This idea cannot be killed. The sooner it is recognised, the better for the peace of the world. Your early answer will remove ■ great misunderstanding.

With best wishes and kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD ABDUS SATTAR KHEIRI  
M. A.

## 129

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*Telegram, F. 519/289-92*

CALCUTTA,  
17 September 1941

Since telegraphing yesterday<sup>1</sup> Huq summoned Nazimuddin, [Nawab of] Dacca, Tamizuddin insisting Shaheed resignation otherwise dismissal. League Ministers threatened resignation *en bloc* and fight issue. Requisition by seventy Leaguers asking Huq call meeting consider no-confidence against Shaheed. As usual coalition meeting Huq requested Leaguers postpone requisition meeting one hour meanwhile Assembly met and adjourned abruptly. Huq supporters opposition Projas, Boseites, Mahasabhaites, Congress betrayed eleventh hour by Huq. League Party alive and active. Regrettable distorted accounts being splashed by Government [of] India aided news agencies example Sunday's two meetings belittling mammoth League demonstrations exaggerating small pro-Huq meeting. Do something. Treat today's press report of Assembly members signed representation to Governor lightly.

HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 126.

130

*M. A. Jinnah to Raghieb Ahsan*

*F. 204/191*

*18 September 1941*

Dear Mr. Raghieb Ahsan,

I am in receipt of your letter of 8th of September<sup>1</sup> which is also signed by other members of the Working Committee of the Calcutta District Muslim League. I have very carefully examined the various points raised and suggestions made by you. The subject is one which cannot be discussed by means of correspondence.

I shall be very glad indeed if some of you would come to Delhi, either a little before or at the time of the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League which is fixed for the 26th of October 1941. We can then discuss the matter fully. I hope you will understand that when you come to laying down a big programme of work on any lines, it requires very careful consideration. I will not say any more just at present until we meet.

I thank the members of the Working Committee of the Calcutta District Muslim League and yourself for having placed these matters before me.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 112.

131

*M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ismail*

*F. 339/8*

*18 September 1941*

Dear Nawab Mohammad Ismail,

Many thanks for your letter of the 9th of September.<sup>1</sup> Yes, I have received all the papers and letters that you have sent to me and they were put on the table at the meeting of the Working Committee.

With regard to your enquiry about Iran, the Working Committee did pass a resolution, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith, but the censorship suppressed its publication. You must have read in



the papers that a resolution was passed, only its text was not allowed to be published by the Government.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 115.

## 132

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani*

*F. 310/9-11*

*18 September 1941*

Dear Mr. Ahmad,

Many thanks for your letter of the 10th of September.<sup>1</sup> I fully appreciate Sir Adamjee's and your public-spiritedness in helping the *Star of India* and I am also glad that you have promised to stand by this paper till the end of this year. But do you both—Sir Adamjee and yourself—realise what great service you have rendered already for the nation and the sacrifice that you have made by a contribution of Rs. 15,000 each a year? Providence has given you both ample and each one of us has to make some contribution and some sacrifice to build up our nation. I, therefore, appeal to you both that you should not allow this powerful instrument and the only Muslim evening daily to die. I am also writing to Sir Adamjee.<sup>2</sup>

I know that you are disappointed by the help that the paper has been receiving from the Musalmans of Bengal. If the Musalmans were not what they are, there would be no need for anyone of us to be called upon to make sacrifices. The nation is in the making and at this stage some of us, who can, have to make strenuous efforts to build up a well-organised people.

I have been constantly referring, in my speeches, to and explaining the importance of the newspapers in politics, which does not exclude the business and the economic life of the country. Of course, our opponents cannot bear to see even this little paper of ours getting on, whereas they have got their own powerful papers supported by them and flourishing.

With regard to your reference to making a big move, on the strength of some information that you have received of my making efforts to raise funds to start an English daily in Bombay, I am sorry to say that you are not quite right. You say, "why not make it an all-India show

with branches in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Madras and get all the provinces to do their bit in support of the cause?" The money that we have collected in the Bombay Presidency and the Western zone was confined only to our zone, except [for] Sir Adamjee who has very generously given a large sum of money as representing Kathiawar and out of personal regard for me, for which, of course, I am very thankful to him. But we have not gone outside the Western zone to appeal to the people for the paper that was to be established in Bombay; and even this effort has resulted in getting about two lakhs of rupees up to the present moment, which is not sufficient for a first-class English daily. Having regard to the progress of War it is difficult to establish a paper for less than [Rs.] 10 lakh whereas before the War we estimated that we could set up a paper if we could get about six lakh. Not only has everything gone up but it is difficult to get machinery even and, therefore, the scheme is pending.

I have always thought that an all-India effort is not only not practical and will not be successful but it will be very difficult to control and manage the vast scheme proposed by you. I, therefore, personally thought that in each province the people of that province should make an effort to establish at least one English daily like the Hindu press. None of the Hindu papers is either owned or managed or controlled by the Congress. They flourish and succeed mainly due to the support of the people of the province.

As a businessman, I think you will appreciate what a huge thing it would be to set up an all-India show with branches in Bombay, Calcutta and so forth. The only way, therefore, is to try and make the paper a success and to popularise the *Star of India* and make the people and public paper-minded in Bengal.

I, therefore, do hope that you and other public-spirited Musalmans will put their heads together and see that the paper is really made the true voice not only of the Musalmans of Bengal but of the whole of India. It has improved enormously, lately, and I am glad that Hassan is taking a very keen interest in it.

I am writing to Sir Adamjee, enclosing a copy of this letter, and I hope that you two and other persons will come forward and make it a success, and I am confident that it will be a success if it is properly managed. The Musalmans are getting more and more conscious of the importance of a newspaper to ventilate their point of view.

Hoping you and all the family are well, [and] with kindest regards and best of wishes to you all,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 116.

<sup>2</sup>No. 134.

## 133

*M. A. Jinnah to H. S. Suhrawardy*

*Telegram, F. 458/28*

BOMBAY,  
18 September 1941

Honourable Suhrawardy, Minister Calcutta

Your telegram.<sup>1</sup> Best wishes all success Pakistan Conference under your presidentship. Let our motto be faith, unity, discipline. Pakistan is our sacred goal and stands for equality of manhood, justice, freedom, peace. To achieve this ideal we should neither rest nor shirk sacrifice. We should not be deterred by opposition or obstacles. Caravan must march on.

JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Suhrawardy had requested a message from Jinnah for the Pakistan Conference. See F. 458/27, QAP. Not printed.

## 134

*M. A. Jinnah to Adamjee Hajee Dawood*

*F. 258/2*

18 September 1941

Dear Sir Adamjee,

I received a letter from Mr. Ahmad Ispahani, dated the 10th of September, to which I have replied. A copy of his letter<sup>1</sup> and my reply is enclosed<sup>2</sup> herewith for your favourable consideration. I am sure you will not allow the *Star of India* to die. It will be a tragedy. It is the only Muslim evening daily throughout India, and it should be kept up at any cost and at any sacrifice. I know that there are many Musalmans in Bengal who could put their heads together and keep

the flag flying.

I am sure that this paper can prove, after some time, that it is not only ventilating the opinion of Bengal and Muslim India but financially also is a great success if it is properly managed.

I need not say any more to you, and I am sure that you will not lose interest and will not allow this paper to die.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 116.

<sup>2</sup>No. 132.

## 135

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Abdul Jabbar Kheiri*

*F. 361/16*

BOMBAY,  
19 September 1941

Dear Dr. M. A. Jabbar Kheiri,

I am in receipt of your letter<sup>1</sup> and beg to inform you that I did receive your letter, which was sent to me by registered post, and I gave it my best consideration. I really do not know what I can do in the matter. I did not acknowledge it for the simple reason that, while I am fully alive to your brother's case, I was really unable to give you any good news.

Thank you for enclosing a copy of the letter which your brother had sent to Mr. Huyssman through Mr. Attlee.<sup>2</sup>

As regards other matters in your letter, when your books are published, no doubt, I shall read them with interest.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 128.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 303 and Enclosure for the reply from Camille Huysmans.



## 136

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani**F. 306/77**19 September 1941*

Dear Mr. Hassan,

Many thanks for your letters of the 6th<sup>1</sup> and 11th<sup>2</sup> of September and your telegram.<sup>3</sup> I had a talk with you on telephone and I had also wired to you, and I am very glad to learn from you and other sources that Bengal has risen to the occasion. Of course, it is inevitable now and I shall have to remove the name of Mr. Fazlul Huq as soon as I can form the [Muslim League] Working Committee.

As regards his letter to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League,<sup>4</sup> it will be dealt with at the proper place and time as I have said in my statement, and in place of Mr. Fazlul Huq I propose to nominate you and hope that you will accept the membership. Please keep me in touch with the developments in Bengal.

I was sorry that you had fever. I sincerely hope that you are alright now.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 110.

<sup>2</sup>No. 117.

<sup>3</sup>No. 126.

<sup>4</sup>See No. 117, note 1.

## 137

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammed Asghar**F. 228/7-8**19 September 1941*

Dear Mr. Asghar,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th<sup>1</sup> and I am afraid you are thinking too much of my visit to Burhanpur, disregarding my difficulties and commitments and the work that I am carrying on. I do not know myself what my commitments will be in December. You know that things are moving very fast and,

therefore, I cannot commit myself beyond going to Nagpur just for a day or two and presid[ing] over the conference of the Muslim Students' Federation. There is no need for you to wait on me in ■ deputation to invite me to go to Burhanpur. If time and my other engagements permitted me, I would like to go everywhere, all over India. But that is not possible. If I go to Burhanpur, then why not to Jubbulpore, Akola and other places all over India. You must, therefore, understand my difficulties and should not unduly press me to go to Burhanpur.

I, of course, much realise and appreciate the regards and affection that the Musalmans of Burhanpur have for me for what little service I have rendered and am rendering to the Musalmans. I understand their feelings and sentiments but it is physically impossible for me to go round and, besides, I cannot allow myself to be detached from some central place and keep[ing] a watch on fresh developments that are taking place everyday. I hope you will understand my difficulties and explain them to the Musalmans of Burhanpur.

Hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Mohammed Asghar, Esq.,  
Advocate,  
Burhanpur

<sup>1</sup>SHC, C.P. & Berar I/59. Not printed.

## 138

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Ibrahim Ali Chishti*

*F. 243/2-3*

*19 September 1941*

Dear Chishti,

I have received your long letter of the 12th September,<sup>1</sup> raising various points, and I have received communications from others, viz. from Mr. Mohammad Ashraf and also from some of the members of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation who came to see me in Bombay, and it seems to me that different people give me different versions. It is very disappointing. Punjab Muslim Students' Federation must be properly organised if it

is going to do some useful work and must have a leader to have a proper voice. It should have its president or the secretary, through whom the communications should be addressed to me.

I recognise and appreciate the great deal of work that has been done by the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation and a great deal more can be done provided that it is properly organised. Besides, the programme of work which was chalked out last March for the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation was to help the formation of Primary and District Muslim Leagues and strengthen and organise the Provincial Muslim League and further to help some constructive programme for the uplift of the Musalmans in the Province economically, educationally and socially, and also to explain to the people of the different parts of Punjab the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League.

I am, therefore, in a very great difficulty as to with whom I should deal until I know who are your real office-bearers and your executive.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Mohammad Ashraf and also to the gentlemen who waited on me in Bombay, viz. Ch. Nasrulla Khan, Moulvi Manzoor-ul-Haq and Malik Zafrulla Khan. I hope that you will put the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation on one solid and united policy which is the first and foremost necessity and enable me to be in touch with your leader, the office-bearers and the executive, who will have the authority and sanction of the solid body of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation behind them. It is the first step when you can do a really sustained and effective work.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

## 139

*Jehangir F. Kotewal to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 367/1-4*

73 GARDEN ROAD,  
SADAR, KARACHI,  
19 September 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

From Mr. Churchill's recent pronouncement in Parliament we now know that the British Government are not prepared to go beyond the declaration of August [8] 1940 by which they proclaimed:

That they would help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of races, subject, of course, to the fulfilment of the obligations arising from their long connection with India and their responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests.

So long as the Muslim League, the Congress, the Mahasabha, etc., adhere to their respective individual programmes, there will be nothing to move the British Government from their above stand which, in such circumstances, they could hold unto eternity!

In such circumstances, there would be no dominion status, and there would be no Pakistan within our life-time. All practical men realise this. A sense of frustration thus pervades the country.

And yet it seems to me that this is just the moment for a great step forward. The time seems ripe for the unfolding of a new banner which could galvanise the country's millions of Muslims, Hindus and the rest. And I can clearly see that, placed as you are to-day, you are the only person in this wide sub-continent to-day who can successfully take up the new leadership.

The Congress demands independence. No British Government will concede it. The moderates demand dominion status, a year after the war is over. They have received their reply from Mr. Churchill—a standing challenge to India. He depends upon the Mahatma to adhere to independence; he depends upon you to stick to Pakistan. The challenge calls for a counter[-challenge]. It is your opportunity, dear Mr. Jinnah, to provide this counter[-challenge]. You unfurl a new banner demanding dominion status here and now.

I suggest to you, dear Mr. Jinnah, that you announce to the Indian world:



- a. that you are prepared to offer your full co-operation to the Hindus and to the rest of India's humanity in achieving the goal of dominion status on the basis of mutual equality as between partners, irrespective of the population strength of the communities, and on the understanding that the Muslims have equal representation with the Hindus on the body that may be set up and entrusted with the drafting of the dominion's constitution for the country, stipulating that the personnel of such a body be limited to one Muslim member and one Hindu member with a non-Muslim and non-Hindu chairman of their selection, assisted by a panel of advisers representing other interests as suggested at pages 7-8 of the enclosed formula.<sup>1</sup>
- b. that if the Hindus accept the above formula, you place before the country the demand for an immediate declaration of dominion status by the British Government and the immediate setting up of a drafting body as above.

The plea that such drafting etc. while the war is on would affect the country's war effort would not hold much force. Even in the present conditions of discontent, the country's effort has been considerable. With the return of contentment and enthusiasm, which might be expected to prevail following a declaration as above, the country's effort might, if anything be expected to be vastly increased in volume.

The country is in a fairly chastened mood to-day, and there appears to be a reasonable prospect of the requisite measure of unity and support being secured to back a united demand as above, which it would be impossible for any British Government to ignore.

For ■ declaration by the British Government in the matter of dominion status, a precedent exists as pointed out at page 6 of the enclosed pamphlet.

As regards evolving a dominion's constitution for the country, ■ method is suggested at pages 7-8 of the formula appended to the pamphlet, which I trust will be found helpful. It provides equal representation and equal voice to the Muslims and the Hindus on the body to frame the new constitution, thus securing maximum protection to Muslim interests on this body which may safely be depended upon to ensure the fullest safeguard of Muslim rights both at the Centre and in the provinces.

Men like me would see nothing inconsistent in the League adopting ■ new policy as above. The political situation keeps

changing in this country as the world over, and the League cannot be expected to remain unaffected. The British Prime Minister's pronouncement is sufficient to call for a radical revision and re-orientation of policies, and it would cause no surprise if a virile body like the League came forward to give a new lead to the country in keeping with the needs of the hour.

A gesture from the League President as above would be sure to have a tremendous effect on the country, and all sane elements would rally round the new banner in their millions. As you know, in the eyes of Hindu India the League has been operating as a bar in the path of the country's progress towards its political emancipation. By placing a new platform before the country on the above lines which, in the eyes of reasonable men, would offer the maximum scope for mutual co-operation between the two great communities in the interest of the country as a whole, the League would immediately silence its critics and acquire for itself added prestige. If the Hindus do not join you on the new platform, they will definitely place themselves in the wrong. The League will have done its part and stand vindicated before the country. The opposition to Pakistan will have lost its force.

I put it to you, dear Mr. Jinnah, that India is greater than the League, the Congress, the Mahasabha and all the other bodies small and great, all put together. You may be one hundred per cent right and the other fellow may be one hundred per cent wrong; you may go on scoring now against the Congress, now against the Mahasabha, and against the Britishers every day of the year: the greatest triumph will yet remain to be scored, namely, the bringing of the Muslims and the Hindus together on a common platform. I am sure you see the country's plight as well as anybody [else]. I put it to you that you are an Indian first and last, and that as such you will deem it your duty as also your privilege to do any and everything that may appear to offer the least prospect of securing the above end. I submit to you the foregoing suggestions for what they may be worth, and I hope you will examine them<sup>2</sup> in a spirit of detachment and with the seriousness that the country expects from one of its greatest sons at this most critical hour in its history. If you are satisfied that these suggestions hold a prospect of success, your

country expects that you will not hesitate to assume the new leadership and lead the country to its destined goal.

Yours truly,  
JEHANGIR F. KOTEWAL

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah replied that he would read the views of the correspondent on the Indian problem with interest. See F. 367/5, QAP. Not printed.

## 140

*M. A. Jinnah to Bahadur Yar Jung*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/29*

*21 September 1941*

Dear Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung,

Many thanks for your letter of the 2nd of September 1941,<sup>1</sup> and I am glad to note that you are not only satisfied but pleased with the decision of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League regarding the serious crisis that we had to face recently with regard to the expansion of the Viceroy's Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council.

With regard to the other matters in your letter, they will receive my careful consideration, and I will see what I can do in the matter. In the meantime, please let me have the latest information regarding the question of withdrawal of the *Firman* prohibiting the participation of *Maashdaran* in politics.

Hoping you are well, [and] with best *salaam* from Miss Jinnah and myself to Begum Sahiba and you,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung,  
Hyderabad, Deccan

<sup>1</sup>No. 105.

141

*M. A. Jinnah to Syed Abdur Rehman*

*F. 430/4*

*21 September 1941*

Dear Syed Abdur Rehman,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th of August 1941.<sup>1</sup> I am sorry I could not attend to it earlier owing to pressure of work. I thank you for all the encouragement and for your approval of the decision of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

As regards your giving up your post in the Government of Mysore, it is entirely for you to decide what you should do. We do want capable workers to serve the League whole-heartedly, but you will have to consider your own position as we cannot, at present, having regard to our financial position, employ paid workers. I, however, appreciate your spirit of sacrifice all the same, but I cannot take the responsibility of putting you out of your post without providing one for you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

142

*M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad*

*F. 395/8*

*21 September 1941*

Your Exalted Highness,

I thank you very much indeed for your kind letter of the 17th of September.<sup>1</sup> I hope that the relationship between Your Exalted Highness and Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung will continue to be friendly.

Thanking you for your kind personal references to me. I need



hardly assure Your Exalted Highness that my services will always be at your disposal and of the Musalmans of Hyderabad.

Yours very sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

His Exalted Highness  
The Nizam of Hyderabad

<sup>1</sup>No. 127.

## 143

*Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 329/150-51*

PESHAWAR,  
22 September 1941

Dear Sir,

In continuation of my previous letters,<sup>1</sup> I beg to submit the following:

H. E. the Governor, NWFP, has kindly addressed H. E. the Viceroy on the subject. This is all that the head of our Province could do.

I have received a very pathetic letter from Mr. Fazlul Huq. I send<sup>2</sup> a copy for your kind perusal, and if you want the original I can send it to you. He seems to be overworked to [a] breaking point. He is suffering from a weak heart and not ■ black heart and I sympathise with him. His outburst against you, the Working Committee, and us all has put him in the wrong inextricably, and your dignified indifference to his personal remarks has made his position most pitiable. Can you, as father of the Muslim nation, bring peace between him and his old coalitionists?

If you very kindly go to Calcutta, send for him to Bombay by invitation, or preferably go to Calcutta to personally study the facts on the spot, much can be done. I would beg of you to kindly undertake this trip. I have again written him a very affectionate but stern letter and I am positive that you can set things right. He is terribly overworked and seems to have lost his mental balance. He is to be pitied rather than condemned. He is one of us and we should not demolish him and you alone, God willing, can save the situation. Your dignified statement<sup>3</sup> was A-1 but people in NWFP do not approve of Nawabzada Sahib's rejoinder. It was correct in facts but was not desirable. Dear Sir, you as an elder can rebuke him but we, the junior colleagues, should be more reverent and relevant. After

all, after you, Fazlul Huq, Sir Sikander and Sir Saadulla are 2nd, 3rd, [and] 4th, respectively, and the rest of us all are 5th to 23rd. The hostile demonstration at Delhi yesterday against Mr. Huq and Sir Sultan Ahmad is equally undesirable. This will accentuate differences. I know your innermost feelings—you always mean to mend and even mean to end [*sic*]. I don't mind demonstration against Sir Sultan or Begum Shah Nawaz though I prefer Sir Sultan's dignified statement, after expulsion, to the childish statement of Begum Shah Nawaz, but I can definitely say that you do not want to lose Mr. Huq for ever. I think Sir Nazimuddin did well to get the no-confidence motion against Mr. Suhrawardy adjourned until 15th November, and I hope, meanwhile, [that] with your mastermind and master-strokes [you] can avert this split by general reconciliation in Bengal.

Lahore by-election: My forecast was correct. I am glad that you kindly persuaded Mr. Abdussattar Khan Niazi to withdraw. Mian Amiruddin wins by 6500 votes against 950 votes for Mrs. Gauba.

Now I tell you, dear Sir, that though Mian Amiruddin is a paid Sub-Registrar, he is a capital fellow and you can rely on him.

With fraternal regards to Miss Jinnah and prayers for your health and spirits,

Yours obediently,  
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN  
*Advocate*

<sup>1</sup>Nos. 118 & 125.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 329/147-8, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>See F. 1022/16, QAP. Not printed.

## 144

*A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 150/3-6*

SADAR HOUSE,  
SURAT, [GUJERAT],  
22 September 1941

My dear Jinnah,

You must be fully occupied with the problems confronting the [Muslim] League. I, however, as is my way, as a loyal Leaguer to the core and as one who has full faith in his leader, consider it my bounden duty to acquaint you with possible eventualities, which

may arise. One such appears to be in sight at the moment, to which I wish to draw your attention.

Rumour has floated down to Surat—God only knows how far it is true—that some busybodies are trying to secure a comfortable living for one or two people who, according to them, are good Gujarati writers by endeavouring to divert some portion at least of the fund so far collected, wholly and solely for the purpose of starting a Muslim English paper, instead of starting a Gujarati paper. They may be arguing, perhaps, that as the fund so far collected is not sufficient to start an English paper, sufficient amount out of it may be used for a Gujarati daily or weekly. This, of course, I strongly believe, would not be permissible legally. The money, for instance, that I collected in this District, which I started as a 'one rupee fund' nearly two years before you took personal interest in the matter, was solely for the purpose of an English paper; and the people not only donated with that view but are even asking me, now and again, even publicly, as to when the English paper is going to be started. Then, when you took interest in the matter, the endeavour to start an English paper got your strong backing and, as you know, nearly Rs. 44,000 were subscribed on the spot at the Chowpatty meeting, which you asked me to address on the subject. The subsequent addition to that Bombay Fund also was collected for the sole purpose of an English paper. Your tour of Kathiawar resulted in promises to you of handsome amounts for an English paper. The fund is named also as a fund for an English paper. The fund, besides, is not a closed affair; it is open. A good deal of money promised is yet to be collected. It is, therefore, fully alive and only for one purpose, and that is the starting of an English paper. Now, the law, as you must be aware, is that a fund collected for one purpose cannot be diverted to another, nor have the donors or subscribers to it a seizin over it, after they have parted with their subscribed amounts. They have no say again in the matter. They too cannot change the object of it or divert it to another purpose. At least, that is my view of the law. As a matter of fact, I had personally appeared in a case of a similar nature and succeeded in preventing the diversion of a fund, which was collected for building a hall and which was being tried [*sic*] by some interested parties to be used for educational purposes. In fact, the consent of the subscribers was actually obtained for the diversion of that fund, but the Court set no value to it.

I do not know whether you have been informed of the move. If you have, I hope I am in time to raise my voice against it; as, apart



from other results, it would unnecessarily sow fresh seeds of discord amongst the Leaguers and your followers. It is bound to create opposition and discontent because the subscribers and the public are fully convinced that our cause will gain strength if we have an English paper to represent it. I do not know what you would think of this letter.<sup>1</sup> I, on my part, feel that I have done my duty towards the League and yourself in writing it, in time.

I hope this finds you well, and with best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,  
A. M. K. DEHLAVI  
MLA

<sup>1</sup>See No. 151 for Jinnah's reply.

## 145

*Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 826/134-5*

BURHANPUR, C. P.,  
23 September 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your kind letter of the 19th<sup>1</sup> in reply to mine.<sup>2</sup>

I beg to assure you that I am fully aware of your innumerable responsibilities and engagements for all the year round. Surely you cannot be expected to visit all the places in India and I am afraid the chances of your kind visit to this historic town of Burhanpur, which were so bright up to now, are getting remote for obvious reasons. How unfortunate it is both for me and for the people of Burhanpur!

But before I give up all my hopes of your visit to this place in December next, I would like to place the following facts before you for your very close consideration and then would leave the matter to your good choice either to strengthen my hands here by kindly accepting the humble invitation of the poor Musalmans of Burhanpur or to place me in a false position by declining the same.

I beg to enclose herewith a cutting from *Hitavada*, an English bi-weekly, published from Nagpur, of September 12th, and invite your attention in connection with your forthcoming visit to Nagpur.

I am afraid that perhaps you are misinformed by a section of Muslim students from Nagpur that your visit to a few places in C.P. other than Nagpur, viz., Akola, Jubbulpore and Burhanpur, would make



the session at Nagpur less successful. This is, of course, not true.

On the other hand, your kind visit to selected places in the Province, which has nothing to do with the session at Nagpur, would certainly create new life, energy and enthusiasm in the rank and file of the Muslim League. No doubt, we have our full sympathies for the Muslim Students Federation and are also extending our hearty welcome to their deputation here. I beg to enclose herewith an extract<sup>3</sup> copy [sic] of our letter, addressed to the Honorary Secretary of the [All India] Muslim Students Federation at Nagpur, welcoming their deputation at Burhanpur.

Last time when Messrs. Syed Abdur Rauf Shah and Latifur Rahman returned here from Bombay after attending the most important Working Committee meeting of August last, they were repeatedly asked at the open public meeting to remind you of their standing invitation to visit this place. Both these gentlemen were pleased to tell the impatient Muslim audience that you would, most probably, like to pay a visit to Burhanpur in December on the occasion of your presiding over [annual session of] the Muslim Students Federation at Nagpur.<sup>4</sup> Thereupon a fresh resolution inviting you to Burhanpur was passed unanimously amidst scenes of great enthusiasm and joy.

Therefore, it was now considered almost a certainty that you would very kindly agree to visit Burhanpur in December when people from the adjoining parts of the country, especially from Khandesh, Nimar, Malwa, Central India and Berar, were expected here for the occasion.

If, therefore, these people are now informed of your inability to visit this place, it will not only be a rude shock to all of them but will cause a death blow to my activities for the League in Burhanpur. I will not only lose confidence of my own people but will also be laughed at and ridiculed by others, especially the Congressmen.

Burhanpur is a place of great historical importance and is still a seat of great Muslim civilisation in the Province. It is a town of over half a lakh population where Muslims are no less than 25,000.

It was once ■ seat of the Kings of Khandesh and even Mughal Emperors chose to live here for several years.

Burhanpur has also played an important part in the present-day political awakening in the country. It was also visited by many prominent Hindu leaders, including the late Mr. [Bal Gangadhar] Tilak and Mr. Gandhi. A Khilafat Conference was also held here in the early days of that movement when the late Ali Brothers and Moulana Zafar Ali Khan had come to honour us and grace the occasion.

Besides, Burhanpur is the chief centre of the Bohra community,

who always co-operate with us in support of the League. Surely, it is also their very great desire to welcome you here in the name and on behalf of their own community in full co-operation with us.

I hope these facts will carry some weight with you in kindly reconsidering your decision in regard to paying a visit to this place.

There are, of course, many more things which I might conveniently place before you than write here. But the point is, if you are pleased to grant me an interview.

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMED ASGHAR

<sup>1</sup>No. 137.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., note 1.

<sup>3</sup>F. 826/137, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>Jinnah presided at and addressed the Nagpur session of the Muslim Students Federation on 26 December 1941. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 338-9.

*Enclosure*

*F. 826/136*

NAGPUR,  
12 September 1941

# INVITATION FROM MOFUSSIL<sup>1</sup>

## Mr. Jinnah Declines

Mr. M. A. Jinnah will preside over the [annual session of the] Muslim Students Federation to be held in Nagpur.

In reply to invitation from the districts of the Province, Mr. Jinnah is understood to have asked the members of the League to "patch up their differences", which at present exist in the Provincial League. In the present conditions Mr. Jinnah has, it is reported, declined to visit any district.

<sup>1</sup>Bi-weekly, *Hitavada*, 12 September 1941.

## 146

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/79-80*

5 CAMAC STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
23 September 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you very much for your letter of the 19th inst[ant].<sup>1</sup> It was delivered to me this morning.

[Raja] Amir [Ahmad Khan] arrived here from Patna yesterday and will be going back to Lucknow tomorrow evening.

We are thinking of submitting a requisition to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, Delhi, asking him to convene the coming meeting of the All India [Muslim League] Council at Calcutta instead of Delhi. We shall be meeting tonight to select a date in case our workers find the 26th of October unsuitable. The object of calling the meeting at Calcutta instead of Delhi is two-fold:

- (1) To further stir up the bile of the Leaguers
- (2) To crack a powerful whip on the back of Fazlul Huq and [of] those of his way of thinking.

On the eve of his departure to Simla, Fazlul Huq issued a statement to the press. Opinion was divided on its interpretation. Some felt that Fazlul Huq had climbed down and others found mischief in his words. However, agitation is being kept alive and newspapers have not discontinued their fire. On the eve of his departure, he told the press that he was going to see the Viceroy and his departure from Calcutta was broadcast from all radio stations. On reaching Simla, he told the press that he was there for the benefit of his health and that he did not propose to interview the Viceroy, and he was almost sure that the Viceroy did not know of his presence in Simla. Such glaring lies day in and day out [and] undignified statements hour in and hour out are, to express oneself mildly, unimaginably low and totally unworthy of a man in the position of Fazlul Huq.

*Masha Allah*, the Leaguers are united. This time they mean business and will not allow Fazlul Huq to go on, without being challenged, in the fashion that he has done in the past.

Fazlul Huq told some people here that after seeing the Viceroy he would proceed to Bombay to meet you. I expect [that] the



carrying out of his proposed plan will depend on the response and encouragement he receives at the hands of the Viceroy and Sikander Hyat Khan. However, no talk of compromise can possibly arise in our quarrel with Fazlul Huq at this stage. He must unconditionally and with apology withdraw his letter addressed to the Secretary of the Muslim League and released to the press on the 11th of September. Nothing short of this, I am sure, will be acceptable to any true Muslim Leaguer.

Fazlul Huq did not press the no-confidence motion against [Huseyn] Shaheed [Suhrawardy] at the eleventh hour because he was not given the assurance by the Governor that on the fall of the Cabinet, he would be the person who would be called to form the new Cabinet. Secondly, the European group in the Assembly changed their minds and told him that they would not welcome any change in the Ministry at this stage, particularly in view of the international situation and the important part that Bengal is playing in the war industries programme. The European group probably felt that they could rely more upon the Leaguers than Sarat Bose's group, who do not enjoy too good a reputation even in their own community. The official Congress [group] were latterly rather disturbed to a great extent; for if Sarat Bose came in with Fazlul Huq, then he would utilise every opportunity to crush the Gandhian school in Bengal. Hence the official Congress group too showed definitely signs of cooling off.

You have my assurance that Muslim Leaguers are not asleep. They are wide awake and active. We are all waiting for Fazlul Huq's promised comprehensive statement either on the eve of his return from Simla or immediately on his arrival in Calcutta. If he makes an unconditional apology, he will take the wind out of our sails for the time being; but if he does not, then he shall be removed from the League organisation in the Province. There shall be meetings in every union, sub-division and district of Bengal supporting the Working Committee's decision, expressing explicit confidence in you and your leadership and damning Fazlul Huq.

Kindly forgive me for rambling in this fashion. The object of this letter is to keep you posted with happenings in Bengal.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Always yours sincerely,

HASSAN



## 147

*Ch. Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

LUCKNOW,  
23 September 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was invited by the Muslim Students Federation of Bengal to inaugurate the first Bengal Pakistan Conference on the 19th and 20th instant. I was glad to find that the Bengal Muslim student community stood solidly behind the [Muslim] League. The Conference was a great success. It was presided over by Moulana Akrum Khan who made a stirring appeal to the Muslims of Bengal to rally round the League flag and fight against all disruptive elements in their society, whatever their strength and position. I am certain that if the fight is carried on with determination and resolution, the victory will be ours; but the trouble is that the Ministerial party, which is opposing Fazlul Huq, is lacking in enthusiasm. It has no definite programme for the future. When an attack is made, the different elements composing the party just rally round to ward it off, as has been in the case of the no-confidence motion against Shaheed [Suhrawardy], and then go to sleep again. Perhaps, the Governor of Bengal did not agree to give a promise to Fazlul Huq to call upon him to form a new Cabinet in case a vote of no-confidence was passed against Shaheed and other Muslim Ministers resigned by way of protest against the indirect assistance given to this move by the Premier. Fazlul Huq, like a shrewd man that he is, at once changed the front and got the Assembly adjourned. Nobody knows what is his next move. It may be that he has gone to Simla to seek assistance of His Excellency the Viceroy to help him in forming an anti-League platform in Bengal. It is also possible he may proceed to Bombay from Simla with a view to creat[ing] an impression that he has been advised by the Viceroy to make [it] up with the League.

In view of this estimate of things, I have begged of Sir Nazim[uddin] and Shaheed to make a Herculean effort during the coming months of winter to establish League branches in the *mofussil* where there are none and to revive those which have become moribund. I have also asked them to fix upon an alternative to Fazlul Huq for the premiership; for so long as he is certain in his own mind that the Muslim League has no other choice, he will go on attacking them with impunity. When he finds that the other party is preparing

for an attack, he may change his colours and give up his antics. I have also suggested one change in the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, namely that no minister should be an office-bearer of the Provincial League. There was no opposition from anybody to my suggestion, but I am afraid nothing definite will come about unless you can afford some time to go there for a week and see things done in your presence. It is just possible that Fazlul Huq may start his tour in the *mofussil* districts even during *Ramazan*. We should not allow him a free field and start our work, if possible, earlier; if not, at least soon after *Ramazan*. Moulana Akrum Khan's paper *Azad* is doing immense service to the cause but he is very doubtful whether other Ministers will continue the fight. He has got to be sure of your assistance.

Ispahani is a brick; but for him, even the work that is being done for the League would not have been possible. The League workers have implicit faith in him. But even he is not sure of the ministerial group. I would once again impress upon you the necessity of your going to Calcutta, as early as possible after *Ramazan*.

I have one other request to make. The City League, Lucknow, is holding a Pakistan Conference on a very big scale on November 22nd and 23rd. We have invited Nawab of Mamdot to preside over it. If you<sup>2</sup> could kindly come down for a few hours to grace the occasion, the success of the Conference will be assured. You have not visited Lucknow since 1937 and I think we can rightly hope that it will be given an opportunity to welcome you this winter. I can assure you that I shall try to have as few engagements here as possible.

Yours sincerely,  
KHALIQ

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 299-301.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 168 for Jinnah's reply.

## 148

*M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 365/27-31*

CONFIDENTIAL

LARKANA, SIND,  
24 September 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sure you must be taking some interest in Sind politics because of the recent developments that have taken place after I saw you at

Bombay. Your silence, however, on the subject is somewhat surprising. I enclose herewith<sup>1</sup>, for your kind perusal, cuttings from the newspapers in which three of my statements at different times, issued during the last fortnight, appeared. There are also the accounts of flight of K. B. Allah Bakhsh, the Sind Premier, to Wardha to see Patel and Gandhi. It is quite obvious that the Congress organization which claims to be the great adherent of its pronounced policy and programme and also claims to be a highly well-organized party in Indian politics, has completely surrendered to K. B. Allah Bakhsh. Strange enough, a leader like Gandhi and his associates in the so-called high command have bidden good-bye to all cardinal principles, which they have too often broadcast and advocated from public platforms, merely to see that the fourth Province (Sind) also does not fall into the hands of the Muslim League. [That] people who have willingly and voluntarily abandoned power in no less than seven provinces should cling to Sind, comparatively a very small province, even at the cost of their pronounced policy and programme is indeed disgraceful conduct, to say the least. I wish you could kindly issue some statement making [it] known to the public what the Congress is up to and why they have sacrificed their principles to placate Allah Bakhsh and keep him in power at all costs.

The argument, very commonly used by the Congress leaders and other supporters of the present Ministry, that the conditions in Sind are peculiar and extraordinary, is a myth and a fabrication. The conditions in fact in all the provinces are almost the same and so [is] also the degree of co-operation and distrust between the two major communities. The Manzilgah agitation<sup>2</sup> and the consequences that followed were mainly due to the attitude of the Hindus of Sukkur and the policy of procrastination followed by the Premier. However, those who advance such arguments should remember that the things that have happened in other parts of India just [sic for such] as Bombay, Ahmedabad, Bihar, Dacca, Cawnpore, etc., were equally bad if not worse. It is, therefore, very unfair to single out Sind and make it a target of attack. If Allah Bakhsh is to be helped by the Congress, they could do so for other reasons, the real reason being that he is enemy of the Muslim League and is out to divide the solidarity of the Musalmans by playing into the hands of the Congress whom this attitude of Allah Bakhsh helps in higher politics. The Muslims here are suffering locally both in the legislative programme for the benefit of agricultural population and also [sic] in matters of their share in public service. You must have noticed in various issues of the *Muslim Voice* how the suppression of the Musalmans has become the order of



the day. But the Muslims here are hopelessly backward educationally and politically and it is a stupendous task to educate the masses and make them realize what their rights are, which are being denied to them. Very unfortunately for us the postponement of elections indefinitely has encouraged the Ministers to play pranks and ignore the claims of the members of their own community (Muslims) entirely. Without being regarded [as] a pessimist, I feel that the future for the Muslims here is dark. The Hindu minority is combined and well-organized and by dividing the Muslim majority, they are playing the game most successfully.

Even in the future scheme of Pakistan, if the minorities are to be given adequate and mandatory safeguards politically and administratively, as the present [Muslim] League's Resolution says, the Musalmans here do not stand to gain anything. G. M. Sayed's scheme of Pakistan where the minorities have no place at least in the sphere of politics is entirely different and much more to the liking of the Musalmans in majority provinces. This, however, is a separate issue altogether and we will discuss with you when you are pleased to come to Karachi or on the occasion of the All India Muslim League Council session by the end of this month at Delhi.

Your presence in Sind, at least for sometime either before going to Delhi or immediately after your return from Delhi, is very essential to study the conditions personally for yourself. We must devise all possible means to strengthen the League organization in this province where it is very weak and do something to combat the mischief of the Congress in collusion with K. B. Allah Bakhsh.

I am glad to find that the threatened cleavage in the Muslim League ranks has been so ably and tactfully avoided by your goodself in three other provinces and the controversy has come to a close. The indications are that Fazlul Huq will also change his attitude and come to his senses very soon.

I shall be much obliged for an early reply,<sup>3</sup> giving necessary advice about Sind politics and your probable dates of visiting Sind. I would prefer your visit by the middle of November when you are back from Delhi, and it will be an excellent season in this part of the country.

With kindest regards,

I remain,  
Yours sincerely,  
M. A. KHUHHRO

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 193, note 3, *JP*, XV, 281.

<sup>3</sup>No. 166.



## 149

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/81*

5 CAMAC STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
24 September 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Last night at Nooruddin's house, [Raja Mohammad] Amir [Ahmad Khan], [Huseyn] Shaheed [Suhrawardy], [Khwaja] Shahabuddin, Nooruddin and I discussed the advisability of requesting the Secretary of the All India [Muslim] League to change the venue of the coming Council meeting from Delhi to Calcutta. I have been asked to write to you in advance and secure your opinion in the matter. If you agree, then the necessary requisition for holding the meeting at Calcutta will be forwarded to Liaquat [Ali Khan]. If, however, you think that the place should not be changed, we shall not proceed further in the matter.

I shall be grateful if you will please let me know your opinion telegraphically,<sup>1</sup> if possible.

Thanking you,

Always yours sincerely,  
HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>See No. 154.

## 150

*Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 329/152-3*

PESHAWAR,  
24 September 1941

Dear Sir,

Most grateful for your kind [letter]<sup>1</sup> just now received.

I beg to suggest that you may be pleased as the leader of the [Muslim] League to issue a statement that Mr. Fazlul Huq is still a Leaguer according to his last statement. Besides, he is a veteran Muslim

[League] worker and his controversy is between the leader and the Executive Committee on the one hand and him on the other. He had complied with the League mandate, and hostile demonstrations against such an elder will embitter an unfortunate situation.

As long as you have not decided to end him [*sic*] (as I know your innermost mind), we should not allow the chance of mending him to be irretrievably lost. He is overworked and rather puzzled and his letter<sup>2</sup> gives the other side of the picture. I am positive one visit of yours to Calcutta would save the situation.

Mr. [Fazlul] Huq is impulsive in the extreme and hostile demonstrations will alienate him for ever. But if you decide to end him, we have to obey. What I honestly believe is that he should be given ■ chance to make honourable amends. He is not as clever and farsighted as Sir Sikander [Hyat Khan] and, besides, his position in Bengal is terribly shaky because of the European group.

With prayerful regards,

Yours obediently,  
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN  
[MLA]

<sup>1</sup>F. 329/149, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 117, note 1.

## 151

*M. A. Jinnah to A. M. K. Dehlavi*

*F. 150/7*

*25 September 1941*

My dear Dehlavi,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 22nd of September,<sup>1</sup> and I am afraid you are entirely misinformed of the true position; but I must make it clear to you that you are wrong when you say that the fund was raised expressly for establishing an English daily paper.

You must have observed that ■■■ appeal was made to the people for the Bombay Presidency Press and Propaganda Fund. However, I understand that you are coming to Bombay shortly, and I shall be glad

to see you when you are here and explain to you the situation fully.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 144.

## 152

*Zafrulla Khan Malik to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 769/207*

GORALI, GUJRAT,  
25 September 1941

Dear Sir,

I thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to Mr. [Mohammad Ibrahim Ali] Chishti, dated 19th September, 1941.<sup>1</sup> It is certainly a matter of shame and regret that persons who hold no responsible position in the Federation have been making false and misleading communications to you. The best way, which I can suggest to you, to find out the amount of truth these communications contain is to enquire from the President of the PMSF [Punjab Muslim Students Federation], Mian Bashir Ahmad, 23 Lawrence Road, Lahore.

For future organization of the Punjab Muslim students, we have plans to do exactly what you suggest in that letter. We are waiting only for the opening of colleges and the return of our President from Karachi. As for Mr. Chishti and company, the best service they can render to the Federation would be to leave it entirely alone.

In the end, may I suggest that, as long as the new executive of the Federation for 1941-42 is concerned, you communicate with the Punjab Muslim students through Mian Bashir Ahmad only. I beg also to pray and trust that you do not hold any communication with these irresponsible people who will very likely misuse and exploit your letters.

I hope [to] submit a fuller report in October. Hoping you are in the best of health.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,  
ZAFRULLA KHAN MALIK  
Deputy President,  
PMSF

<sup>1</sup>No. 138.

## 153

*S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 304/114-5*

ISMAIL MANZIL,  
PATNA CITY,  
26 September 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to express my very sincere gratitude for your very kind thought of me in replying to my letter dated 9th September,<sup>1</sup> and other previous correspondence on the subject through your kind letter, dated 18th September,<sup>2</sup> received here on 22nd September.

I have to thank you further for your very kind courtesy in sending me copies of the two resolutions passed about Iran and other Islamic countries which were censored, and as such suppressed from publication by the Government press censors. Yes, I have first read the account of such a resolution being passed and suppressed in the two Urdu papers, one *Al-aman* of Delhi and the other a Shia organ, *Tanzim*, issued from Lucknow containing the news of Nawabzada's statement made at the Aligarh [Muslim] University Union. The news was later published in *Asre Jadid*, Calcutta, but it was not published in any of those English papers which have got circulation in Bihar. I feel greatly honoured by your very kindly supplying me with the true copies of the most important resolutions. I appreciate the concern which your Working Committee has shown towards this, the only unfortunate Shia Islamic sovereignty [sic for sovereign state] of the world. However, subsequent events in Iran warranted our passing another resolution in our Provincial [Muslim League] Committee, copy enclosed for your information.<sup>3</sup> It has fortunately escaped censorship by six hours only. The resolution enclosed was published in both the *Searchlight* and the *Indian Nation*, the two English dailies of Bihar. The Press Adviser is very annoyed with the two papers. The news is suppressed for further communication elsewhere.

Apart from the question of the Islamic sovereignty and their independence being maintained, I hope you will realise that we have our religious affinity with these Islamic countries owing to the fact that our religious and sacred shrines are situated in these countries. The Shias are more concerned about the sanctity of these shrines in Iraq and in Iran because it is there that our most immaculate and



revered *Imams*, the only rightful descendents of the Holy Prophet [PBUH], are resting in peace. We have, therefore, our natural anxieties, and we do hope and trust [that] you will do your best to impress on the Government of India, as you did before, that the Indian troops shall under no circumstances be utilised against any Islamic country or power. The way in which the British and Russia together have quietly entered Iran and have been responsible for the forced abdication of Reza Shah Pehlavi has not only shocked us but shaken our faith in their sincerity. We look upon you, therefore, to do something which shall preserve the sanctity of our religious shrines from wanton vandalism. We have the sad memory of what happened in Iran in 1912.<sup>4</sup> We have still sadder memory of the outrages committed by Ibne Saud vindictively and revengefully on the innocent tombs situated in Madina, belonging to the daughter of our Holy Prophet [PBUH] and our other most immaculate *Imams*, over which we protested but in vain. I have every confidence in you that you can do much if only you will move and warn the Viceroy and the British Government. Please excuse me for the length of my letter. You must have read in the papers that the Bihar Government has not only banned the observance of the Bihar Day but has also stopped holding of any other meeting by any other class or community in connection with the same riot.<sup>5</sup> Recently, they have also issued a notification banning the holding of the All-India<sup>1</sup> Hindu Mahasabha session which was proposed to be held at Bhagalpore during Christmas week, on the ground that feelings between the two communities in Bihar are far from being satisfactory. Young Muslims in Bihar and also some others were of the opinion that the Government of Bihar was only interfering with the Muslims' right of liberty in placing their legitimate grievances. Such is not the case. I do not hold any brief for any Government but the truth is that they are applying the banning orders equally against both. My only reason in informing you is to keep you acquainted with the true state of affairs so far as Bihar is concerned. However, I once again assure you that such small encouragement on your part keeps us more confirmed and more undaunted in our effort.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
ISMAIL

<sup>1</sup>No. 115.

<sup>2</sup>No. 131.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 156.

<sup>4</sup>Russia bombarded Mashhad city of Iran in 1912.

<sup>5</sup>See No. 83, Resolution No. 10.

## 154

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani*

*F. 306/83*

*26 September 1941*

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd<sup>1</sup> and also your wire. I fully appreciate your desire that we should hold the meeting of the [All India Muslim League] Council at Calcutta instead of Delhi as it is announced to take place on the 26th of October. There are certain difficulties, however, which it is very difficult for me to explain to you in a letter.

I am very glad indeed to hear that the Leaguers there are united and I entirely agree with the view, taken by you there, that Mr. Fazlul Huq must unconditionally, with apology, withdraw his letter<sup>2</sup> addressed to the Secretary [All India Muslim League], and which was released to the press on the 11th of September. That is really the least.

In my opinion, he is a source of danger to the vital interests of not only the Musalmans of Bengal but of the whole of India. It is humiliating for the Musalmans to acknowledge a man of this type to be one of their leaders. The whole world is laughing at this issue. It is entirely up to you all in Bengal to stand united and put an end to this agony.

May I suggest for your consideration and other Leaguers, particularly of Sir [Khwaja] Nazimuddin, Nawab of Dacca and Mr. [Huseyn Shaheed] Suhrawardy and Mr. Tamizuddin, the idea of holding a special session of the League in Calcutta some time in the month of December during Christmas week. If that appeals to our people in Bengal then I would advise you to table a resolution at the next meeting of the Council, which must be backed up by a written requisition under Rule 16, by no less than 50 members of the Council of the League; as you know under Rule 15 and 16, it is only the Council that can hold special sessions and fix the annual sessions of the League.

I am also waiting for Mr. Fazlul Huq's promised comprehensive statement and we shall have to consider our next move accordingly. Anyhow, I am very happy to gather from your letter that you are all

united and mean business this time.

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 146.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 117, note 1.

## 155

*Mohammad Ibrahim Ali Chishti to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 796/208-9*

PAISA AKHBAR STREET, LAHORE,  
26 September 1941

Quaid-i-Azam,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

Your [letter] dated 19th September, 1941.<sup>1</sup> We quite appreciate your anxiety. We too regret that the Unionists should be able to make use of a few of our misguided and inexperienced members, who have fallen prey to petty baits. However, we don't propose to give them undue importance by diverting more than necessary attention. As you will see from the attached<sup>2</sup> cuttings of newspapers, we are continuing our work and there is no reason why you should delay your decision regarding our scheme. If you disapprove [of] it, then you tell us what else to do.

There are only five gentlemen whom [Mian] Amiruddin has succeeded in tempting away. It was he who financed the deputation to Bombay. One of these gentlemen has already joined service. Others too cannot do any practical harm. They will probably follow suit.

In these circumstances, although we will do our best to stamp out all dissension, you with your political insight must agree that we should not be side-tracked from our main objective. After all, we have primarily come out to work for Pakistan.

We are dedicated to the programme that you recapitulate so admirably in your letter. But as we have already made clear in several of our previous letters, our main difficulties are financial. Hence our scheme. In fact, I had warned you in advance that the enemy is cunning as well as resourceful; and that if our economic



weakness continues, he will succeed in weaning away weaker elements.

We have no Unionist to finance us to go to Bombay. Is there any possibility of your coming nearer to Lahore so that we should be able to have a face-to-face talk with you in the near future? Can you come to Lahore two days before this 'Id? The grand congregation in the [Bad]shahi Mosque from all over the Punjab will have a chance to listen to you. It will be a worthy finishing touch to your recent triumph over the traitor of the Punjab. You will be the guest of Pakistan Rural Propaganda Committee. Reply by wire. If you accept, we shall have to make arrangements.

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM ALI CHISHTI  
*President,*  
*The Pakistan Rural Propaganda Committee*

<sup>1</sup>No. 138.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 769/210-12, QAP. Not printed.

## 156

*Extract from the Proceedings of the Working Committee of Bihar  
Provincial Muslim League<sup>1</sup>*

F. 304/116

26 September 1941

### RESOLUTIONS

The Working Committee records its sense of deepest sorrow and perturbation at the trend of recent events and happenings in Iran and desires to give expression to its extreme resentment [over,] and severest condemnation of the developments that have led to the abdication of Reza Shah Pahlavi and the accession by his son to the throne of Iran.

Further, the Committee resolves that prayers should be offered after every *Juma'* prayer in all the mosques, without any speech, for the integrity, independence and sovereignty of Iran and other Islamic countries.

In view of the fact that the letter of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal, to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, contains false and baseless allegations against the Quaid-i-Azam and tries to split up the strength and solidarity of the Muslim nation in



India, and further gives vent to un-Islamic principle of provincial limitations against the universal Islamic brotherhood. This meeting of the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial League condemns his action in writing such an unwarranted letter to the Secretary, All India Muslim League, and urges upon him to withdraw his wild allegations made against the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League.

<sup>1</sup>Meeting of the Bihar ML Working Committee was held on 21 September 1941 and the proceedings were published in the *Indian Nation* and the *Searchlight* on 22 September 1941.

## 157

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan*

*F. 329/154*

*26 September 1941*

Dear Mr. Aurangzeb Khan,

I thank you for your letter of the 22nd of September<sup>1</sup> enclosing a copy of the letter that you have received from Mr. Fazlul Huq, dated the 19th of September, in reply to your telegram. This letter addressed to you is equally painful and it is very difficult indeed to understand the reasoning of it. The question of his letter addressed to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League has nothing whatever to do with the domestic differences, which are referred to in his letter to you and which may have existed from [*sic* for since] long ago, as he says between him and his colleagues and between the members of the coalition party. It is, however, for the first time that I hear of it.

With regard to his letter addressed to the Secretary, there is absolutely no justification for it. For the domestic and local disputes, it was always open for Mr. Fazlul Huq, as a loyal member of the League, to requisition the services of the President or the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to deal with any trouble that may have arisen between him and his colleagues or any other person or party. But instead of following the right course, it appears from his letter that he has addressed the letter to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, and has created the crisis in the League organisation, in order to avenge his colleagues, who according to his allegations, were conspiring against him in domestic matters. Do you think this is worthy of any man in the position of Mr. Fazlul Huq? Is it an honourable course for him to follow?

It is for you and others to judge. So far as I am concerned, I am helpless and I do not know what can I do in the mater.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 143.

## 158

*Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/272-3*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
27 September 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have just returned from a tour of C.P. which was a great success. Everywhere thousands of Muslims came and attended the meetings. I find great enthusiasm in the public and have returned full of hope for the success of the conference. I was surprised to see that even in the remote villages there are branches of the Muslim League, but everywhere they complained about the present party politics that is going on and which has greatly hampered the work of the League. I have come to Hyderabad to establish a branch of the Muslim Students' Federation. The difficulties here are numerous and I am surprised that the students enjoy no civil liberty, but I am neither disheartened nor discouraged by that. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung has promised full support.

I am anxious to see you in Bombay in the third week of October, after finishing the rest of our programme in Berar. I will be here till the 5th of October and I hope you will very kindly let me know so that I may proceed to Bombay after completing my tour. There are many important matters which I want to discuss with you personally.

I will remain anxious for a reply.<sup>1</sup> You will be glad to know that my recent move in asking every Muslim student to carry the symbol of 'P' which means Pakistan and peace, has received great popularity

and everywhere I find the students carrying this symbol. I have now ordered for a badge which will be carried by every Muslim student.

Hope you are enjoying sound health, [and] with respects,

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD NOMAN

Jinnah replied saying that he would not be going to Bombay but would be glad to meet him in Delhi instead. See F. 1099/274, QAP. Not printed.

## 159

*Abdus Samad Khan to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

108G MODEL TOWN,  
LAHORE,  
27 September 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On the advice embodied in the *Tulu-i-Islam* of September 1941, I enclose a cheque for Rs. 100 to be expended by you in connection with the Muslim League of which you are the President and which is playing the role of the defender of Islam in India. I am sending this out of my *Zakat* fund and I am persuaded to believe that the charge would be legitimate and appropriate. More than anybody else, I am inclined to think that you yourself would be feeling the necessity of starting some all-India fund for the relief of the Muslims in India. The fund should be meant for their economic relief particularly. That you are not taking the initiative must be due to the scarcity of reliable entities for taking charge and controlling the fund. This perhaps could be coped with by engaging the services of a few officers and men lent [*sic* for borrowed] from the Government. The times are psychological [*sic*] and should not be allowed to pass away unavailed [*sic*]. The road which the All India Muslim League is traversing is crying for the need of some all-India Muslim economic fund or *Bait-ul-Mal* Fund or some such institution fulfilling the purpose of *Bait-ul-Mal*. The whole thing needs to be an organized one. If it is not to be a *Bait-ul-Mal* Fund, and should instead be an all-India economic fund, then instead of subscription, shares should be sold at the rate of rupee one per share, the whole amount to be collectable at once. Even an ordinary Muslim, under the present day communal stress and strife, is likely to buy at least one share. All this is likely to make a big sum ultimately.

Preparatory to entering upon [sic] such a project, it seems necessary that All India Muslim League should have a list of such selfless Muslim workers who could be of use in such a big organization. So far [as] I have pondered over the matter, I think there are a few such selfless workers who had retired from Government accounts offices. In order to deliberate upon this matter, an all-India competent sub-committee needs to be set up, which should report the needful as early as possible. They should call a list of such Muslim retired officers and men from provinces who are animated with Islamic passion for the regeneration of Islam in India. Even such Muslim accounts officers who are already in service but are considered fit to give sound advice should be consulted unofficially. Without economic reconstruction of the Muslims in India we cannot expect wonders and I am inclined to think [that] with ■ little intelligent interest much could be done. If *Bait-ul-Mal* Fund was established separately from the all-India economic fund, it is likely that much of the *Zakat* (charity) from the educated Muslims specially and the uneducated Muslims generally, will flow into the Fund.

I realize you have too much to do and you are short of men. But if you could get hold of a couple of retired account officers [blessed with] honesty, integrity and Islamic zeal, [the] way will be paved for better and bigger things. I am a retired police officer and not calculated [sic] to be of much use in such ventures.

Yours sincerely,  
ABDUS SAMAD KHAN

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 302-05.

## 160

*H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Ispahani*  
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 458/30

MOUNT EVEREST HOTEL,  
DARJEELING,  
28 September 1941

My dear Mirza Ahmed,

Are you really serious about the organization of the Muslim League? If so, funds are absolutely necessary.



According to our rules all the Union Leagues will have to be reorganized by November, and for this we shall have to take some steps which will cost money. Firstly, we shall have to print about two lakhs of receipts. Secondly, we shall have to send at least one organizer in each district. Some districts will require more than one organizer. Where the District League is functioning satisfactorily we need not send an organizer, although it will be desirable to do so. Thirdly, we shall have to appoint somebody in the office to check the issue and return of receipts and the accounts to keep and tally regarding the formation of the various Union Leagues, and to see that the organizers work properly. As I have said before, all these require money, and Rs. 25,000 is the least amount that will suffice. I hope that once the place has been thoroughly and properly organized and new workers have arisen in the localities, with whom we shall henceforward keep in touch, so much money will not be necessary. So, will you please find the money yourself and give me an assurance so that I can get on with the work, or will some of you be good enough to sit round together and raise the funds? Hassan does not seem to be very keen on raising these funds and would like to delay matters. I do not think that he is correct. This is the psychological moment for raising funds, and indeed if we do not organize now we are undone.

A reply<sup>1</sup> will be very much appreciated along with action.

Yours sincerely,  
SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY

M. A. Ispahani, Esq.,  
5 Camac Street,  
Calcutta

<sup>1</sup>See No. 175 for Jinnah's reply.

## 161

*Mohammed Zakaullah to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 470/1*

SIMLA,  
28 September 1941

Sir,

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter dated the 27th September

1941, addressed to certain editors of the daily newspapers. As will be observed from the detail given therein, our efforts to stage the black flag demonstration against the Bengal Premier and Sir Sultan Ahmed met with an unparalleled success, but the press treated the subject so lightly and gave it such a poor publicity that I felt constrained to protest against their attitude, so that they might make amends for the matter, or, at any rate, may not treat with indifference in future, a matter of such supreme importance to the League as the one in question is. This is one of the instances that further accentuate the need of establishing a Muslim press in the country. Had there been our own press in existence at the present juncture the matter as the present one would have received the proper publicity that its magnitude deserved.

I am, Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
MOHAMMED ZAKAULLAH  
*President,*  
*Simla District Muslim League*

*Enclosure*  
*Mohammed Zakaullah to Certain Newspaper Editors*  
*F. 470/2-3*

SIMLA,  
27 September 1941

Dear Sir,

I have read, not without surprise, the few lines so abstractedly devoted in one of your recent issues to the black flag demonstration staged by the Simla Muslims against Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, and Sir Sultan Ahmed, the Law Member, on their arrival in Simla on Sunday last. My feelings as a public man impel me to point out that the Associated Press, which supplied you with such a meagre detail of the above-mentioned incident [sic], did not do full justice to the publicity thereof. Apart from an absolutely bald detail with which the subject has been treated by the press, the mention therein of Sir Sultan Ahmed, who was also subjected to the black flag demonstration, has been omitted altogether. Some of the press representatives, who were present at the scene of the demonstration, were particularly requested to see that compendious material of the event was supplied to the press for the information of the public at

large. Notwithstanding this, it has been found to our astonishment that the facts brought out in the press are exceedingly meagre in detail and utterly lacking in conveying comprehensive information to the literary world. In the circumstances, I take the liberty of bringing this fact to your notice in the hope that you might deem it desirable, or perhaps advisable, in the interest of the reading public, to make good the deficiency in the next issue of your paper, for which I shall be much obliged.

The following are some of the essential features of the black flag demonstration, which will, it is hoped, serve your purpose:

On receipt of the information about the visit to Simla, on Sunday last, of the Bengal Premier, Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Muslims of Simla, mustering [in] thousands strong [sic], made their way in an orderly file to the Cecil Hotel where the Bengal Premier was alleged [sic] to be put up but which subsequently turned out to be a mere hoax, for they had to wait there in vain for the Premier's arrival from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. when they got scent of the coming up of Sir Sultan Ahmed by rail motor. They accordingly then rushed in a body to the railway station and greeted Sir Sultan with black flags, synchronizing with slogans like "Resign from the Viceroy's Executive Council and preserve Muslim solidarity." Soon thereafter, the eager mob, on getting wind of the Bengal Premier arriving shortly by car, hurried to the octroi barrier, about 3 miles off the city proper, where police constables were also on guard. Here too a person or two used clever dissimulation to worm themselves first into the confidence of the public and then try to beguile the latter into the belief that the Premier had already reached Simla and that there was no use now waiting for him. But they were this time outwitted by the anxious mob that proved superior to them in cleverness. When the Premier's car came up to that place, it found itself confronted with a huge but orderly crowd of people holding black flags in their hands. While staging the black flag demonstration against the Premier, the enthusiastic mob, with due respect to the Premier, shouted slogans such as "Muslim League Zindabad, Bengal Premier must owe an apology to our accredited leader Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, and preserve Muslim solidarity."

On that day both Mr. Fazlul Huq and Sir Sultan Ahmed thus became cynosures of the demonstrators' eyes as also the victims of their slogans. The demonstrators behaved themselves in an orderly and constitutional way throughout, without crossing in any way the bounds of decency.

The above is but a sketchy description of the event of the demonstration and represents the true facts which you might care



to apprise the reading public of, who are, you will no doubt realise, entitled to, and expect from the press, an important news like the one in question.

Yours faithfully,  
MOHAMMED ZAKAULLAH

## 162

*Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/30*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
28 September 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am in receipt of your letter dated September 21, 1941.<sup>1</sup> In view of the latest situation that has developed here I deemed it advisable to depute to you a messenger instead of writing a letter. The bearer of this letter, Mr. M. A. Rahman, is one of my intimate associates in whom I repose full trust. He will lay before you the details of this letter and convey your instructions to me in perfect secrecy. The *Firman* regarding *Maashdaran* has not yet been withdrawn. A demand for its withdrawal has been made in a resolution adopted by the general body meeting of the Jagirdars Association, and protest against these rules is also continuing in several districts of the Dominion, but the Government has not yet shown signs of mak[ing] any move in this respect. This state of affairs is an obstacle in my way and obviously the organization of the Majlis is getting loose, because majority of the workers of the Majlis in the rural areas belongs to the class of *Maashdaran*. I hope the matter will soon receive your attention.

The latest situation alluded to above is that I, according to your instructions, tendered my apology to His Exalted Highness on August 24, 1941, which was published in the gazette extraordinary together with ■ *Firman* on August 31. A week after the publication of this *Firman*, new rules entitled, *Rules & Regulations for the Employees of the Nazm-e-Jamiat*, have been published in the ordinary gazette on September 8, 1941, prohibiting the employees of the Nazm-e-Jamiat to take part in politics. The wording of these rules is the same as that of the rules of the *Maashdaran*. The word Nazm-e-Jamiat applies to the old irregular forces of Hyderabad in which I hold the rank of a *Jamadar*



equivalent to that of a colonel in the regular forces. I draw a salary of Rs. 500 per mensem. The rank enjoys all honours and privileges which the nobles had been conferred upon during the days of the Mughal Empire, such as *Palki Ammari*, *Noubat*, *Aftabgiri*, *Miana*, *Danka*, *Nishan*, etc. The rules seem to me quite reasonable and hence I must renounce the rank in case I wish to continue my political career. This is also the considered opinion of my associates. But I thought it advisable to get your instructions by apprising you with [sic for of] the situation. Please let me be enlightened by your sound guidance in the matter. Concluding, I once again draw your attention to my previous letter<sup>2</sup> in which I had written to you about the ministerial post and administration.

Yours sincerely,  
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

<sup>1</sup>No. 140.

<sup>2</sup>No. 105.

## 163

*Haji Abdussattar Haji Essak Sait to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 447/45-6*

TELLICHERRY,  
30 September 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Among the papers that have been sent to us by the Secretary of the [Central] Legislative Assembly, you will find the notice of a resolution by Sardar Sant Singh demanding the dissolution of the War Advisory Council. The text of the resolution is appended herewith. In my opinion this resolution should be supported by us even though we have always held that the Assembly is not the forum for discussing such big issues. If you approve of the idea I shall circulate this resolution to all members of our party in the Legislative Assembly for their signatures. The slight amendment required at the end of the resolution, namely replacing the words "Indian public" by the words "peoples of India" can be brought about by giving notice of such an amendment when the resolution comes out of the ballot and is tabled for discussion.

A piquant situation is sure to arise in the Assembly in this session.

Because of Mr. Aney's acceptance of office, the Government is expecting whole-hearted support from his party. But I know that his party is not going to support the Government in the least. They say that their leader did not consult them before accepting office and therefore they are not bound by what he has done. Sardar Sant Singh, who was hopeful of securing a place in the Executive Council, is all the more bitter against Mr. Aney. I understand that he is going to be elected as the leader of that party. Thus a very interesting situation is going to develop in the Assembly.

I am awaiting your approval for issuing the appended resolution for the signature of the members of our party.

Hope this finds you happy and cheerful,

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. S. H. ESSAK

*Enclosure*

*F. 447/47*

RESOLUTION BY SARDAR SANT SINGH

This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council to dissolve the War Advisory Council as the same does neither meet the requirements of the situation nor possess the confidence of the Indian public.

164

*M. Sharifuddin to Henry Twynam  
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

*Telegram, SHC, CP & Berar I/62*

AMRAOTI,  
30 September 1941

Communal situation in Amraoti is very grave. The Government and police are partial. Life and property of Muslims are absolutely in danger. Almost all Muslim shops looted by Hindus before the

eyes of police. Houses of League President and Secretary and the Muslims burnt. Further danger continues. Please take immediate action and help us.<sup>1</sup>

M. SHARIFUDDIN  
*President, Amraoti Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah advised that he should seek help from the President of the Provincial Muslim League. See SHC, C.P. & Berar I/63. Not printed.

## 165

*Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 329/155-6*

PESHAWAR,  
 30 September 1941

Dear Sir,

Your kind letter dated 26.9.41<sup>1</sup> to hand. So kind of you. The gist of my telegram to Mr. Huq was:

Suicidal to kill one's old team. New team new difficulties. Please reconsider it dispassionately.

My letter to you was never meant to convey any justification of Mr. [Fazlul] Huq's letter to Secretary [All India] Muslim League or any defence of his activities towards the League. It was to give you an idea of the other side of the picture. It is tragic both ways; but this is the world. The situation is already complicated but we expect of you, dear Sir, as father of the whole show, to rise to the situation and think of a solution. I have condemned Mr. Huq in stronger terms in my letters to him but he is ours and we are his—whenever there is a tangle you have to solve it. I have requested Mr. Huq to refer the entire matter to you and you are, *Insha Allah*, capable of solution [*sic*]. But Mr. Huq seems to be now in [a] quagmire. There are old MLAs in Bengal with young ambitions who are complicating the situation for Mr. Huq and his old party. People like Sir A. H. Ghaznavi of Central Legislature and other ambitious MLAs who are outside the pale of the coalition party are egging Mr. Huq [on] to these new activities—you know Mr. Huq (the impulsive) more than I know him. He is impulsive and equally ambitious of [*sic*] powers—at the formation of the Bengal Ministry. You gave him the bait of premiership and he was successfully tackled, thanks to Sir Nazimuddin's sacrifice—

can't you intervene? There is still time up to the 15th November but it will be most expedient if Mr. Huq, of his own accord, refers the entire dispute to your final disposal. I am writing him a very affectionate letter to refer the whole question to you. You are the boss of the whole affair and your discretion will be on trial. You successfully managed, at Lahore, the Khaksar tangle and, God willing, you will be able to successfully avert this crisis in Bengal and the League organization. Mr. Huq's statement before departure to Simla is reassuring.

I can never think that the conduct of Mr. Huq is in any way justified or justifiable but we have to do it—none else except your goodself can do [it], of course, by the grace of God Almighty. Please put your stout shoulders to the wheel and do it. High Providence will guide you.

It is for you to judge and we can never allow you to be helpless—God will help you—we are your soldiers and we will serve, stand and support. You are our Quaid-i-Azam and you must do it—we have to obey your orders.

With regards,

Yours obediently,  
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN  
MLA



## 166

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro*

*F. 365/32-3*

*1 October 1941*

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th September,<sup>1</sup> enclosing the press cuttings, and while I agree with you as regards your criticism of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress high command in allowing K. B. Allah Bakhsh to continue as a member of the so-called National Defence Council, I do not know what I can do in the matter. It is entirely in the hands of the Musalmans of Sind. You say, "The Hindu minority is combined and well-organised and by dividing the Muslim majority they are playing the game most successfully." Well, that we know, and that is the very reason why I have been urging upon you and other leaders of the Muslim League organisation to organise our people so as to prevent Muslim majority being divided. But you people are so impatient of the result; you want quick results. I again, therefore, emphatically want you and other leaders of the Muslim League to organise our people so that you can resist the state of things in Sind which you are facing.

As regards your observations regarding Pakistan, I am afraid, they are far too loose and I am glad that you also say that that is a separate issue altogether and I shall certainly welcome a discussion with you and other Muslim League leaders when we meet.

I hope that you will come in a very strong contingent at the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, which is going to take place at Delhi in the last week of October. We can also discuss the question of my going to Karachi there, if necessary.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 148.

167

*Hasan Reyaz to M. A. Jinnah**SHC, P&P II/1-2*DELHI,  
2 October 1941

Dear Sir,

The initial arrangements of the *Dawn* are now complete. The first issue is appearing on the 19th October. I wish and hope that it may come out as a first-class thing. It is very encouraging indeed that you are taking keen interest in the making of the Muslim press.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan wants that the following should appear on the front page of the *Dawn*:

Under the supervision and direction of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League.

I must confess that I failed to understand the advisability of it. Every paper has its directors and supervisors but their names and the fact itself are concealed, much less advertised. Controlled press can be of no advantage to any people and specially when the fact is so loudly proclaimed. Besides, this is superfluous when your name as the founder of the paper is already there. This would be quite enough to enhance the prestige of the *Dawn* to get subscribers from amongst the Indian Muslims and to attract attention towards it of the British and American public without damaging its position as an independent weekly, for the founding of a paper does not suggest the control of its policy.

I am well aware that you are too busy. Nevertheless, it would be a great thing should you be pleased to honour the *Dawn* with your contributions and exclusive statements occasionally.<sup>1</sup> Nawabzada Sahib may do likewise if he wants to help the paper in its growth by his influence and popularity.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
HASAN REYAZ

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied that he was going to Delhi by the middle of October and would discuss the matter there. See SHC, P&P II/3. Not printed.

## 168

*M. A. Jinnah to Ch. Khaliquzzaman*<sup>1</sup>

3 October 1941

My dear Khaliq,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd of September.<sup>2</sup> Many thanks for it. In the first place, I am very glad that you went to Calcutta to attend the [Bengal Muslim Students] Conference. Of course, I followed the proceedings of the Conference, as reported in the *Star of India*, but I am very pleased to hear from you that it was a very great success. I also thank you for giving me all the information with regard to the present situation in Bengal.

As regards Mr. Fazlul Huq, really it is most astounding and at the same time deplorable. However, we must face the situation as best as we can. More when we meet in Delhi for the [Muslim League] Council meeting on the 26th of October.

With regard to Lucknow City League, I am glad that you have decided to hold a Pakistan Conference on the 22nd and 23rd of November. I will see and try my best to attend the Conference. Please organise our people. Ultimately, we have to depend upon our own strength. Go ahead with your Conference and make all efforts to make it a real success.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 11.

<sup>2</sup>No. 147.

## 169

*Mohammed Zakaullah to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 470/5-7

KASHMIRI MOSQUE,  
SIMLA,  
3 October 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In continuation of my letter, dated 28th September 1941,<sup>1</sup> on the

subject of the black flag demonstration against the Bengal Premier and Sir Sultan Ahmad, which was carried out in Simla with brilliant success, but with due regard to the canons of propriety and in keeping with the status of the personalities concerned.

In this connection, the Premier of the Punjab, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, sent for me to his office on the 1st October 1941, and I give below a gist of the conversation that transpired between him and myself:

The Punjab Premier prefaced his remarks, which savoured of an expression of the utmost indignation or wrath, that by arranging the demonstration you [I] had done the most outrageous act possible against the exalted personalities of India, i.e. (1) against Mr. Fazlul Huq, who according to him, commands the highest respect from more than three crores of the entire population of Bengal in his capacity as Premier, and is also an august figure among the Muslim population and (2) against Sir Sultan Ahmad, who also ranks among the biggest personalities of India. By so doing, he said I had brought the ugliest slur not only on the Muslims of Simla but also on the whole Muslim community of India and that this act of mine had no authority behind it, either from the Quaid-i-Azam or the Punjab Provincial Muslim League to which the Simla District Muslim League is affiliated; nor had it the sanction of my own District Muslim League. With these splashing remarks, which can scarcely fail to whip one into rage, he continued threatening me with the menace that, immediately on his arrival in Lahore, it would be a matter of his foremost concern to see that the Simla District Muslim League was disaffiliated and its life put to an end forthwith.

The above is but the briefest account possible of the expostulation that the Punjab Premier addressed to me and the most obnoxious way in which he gave vent to his spleen, and the extreme visitation of his wrath upon me will be brought home to you personally on my meeting you next. Apart from passing his remarks on the subject in the general way, he went to the extent of hurling personal mean attacks upon me and also various sorts of threats, dictated apparently by the position he holds at present, and had I not curbed my passion and put a clog upon my power of patience at the moment, the situation would have assumed enormously ugly dimension.

All his trenchant criticism was aimed at cowing me down to the position that I should retrieve my steps and repent on my so-called sin of organising the demonstration, by causing a statement, to be



published in the press, that the Muslim League had no hand in the demonstration and that it was organised by a handful of irresponsible local bad characters or loafers.

I must frankly confess that in regard to the demonstration, no formal meeting of the Working Committee of the District Muslim League could be convened for want of time. But every possible effort was made to consult the members of the Working Committee as far as they were found available and their agreement obtained to the course of action taken. The origin of the demonstration lay in the fact that it was arranged on receipt of a telegram from one Mr. Ferozuddin Ahmed of Calcutta, which reads as under:

Moulvi Fazlul Huq leaving for Simla tonight. Arrange demonstration.

You will thus realise that the time after the receipt of the above telegram was so short that it was well-nigh impossible within the brief space of time at my disposal to go through all the formalities of the League constitution, and I was consequently obliged to rush through the matter with the possible expedition and hold consultations only with the majority of the members of the Working Committee without, of course, being able to place anything on record in this behalf.

In the event, I now solicit your instructions<sup>2</sup> whether I should proceed with the announcement in the press that the Muslim League had nothing to do with the demonstration and that it was staged by the general Muslim public of Simla or whether I should observe complete silence on the point. By way of personal explanation, I may say that I am the last person to resile from the position or action I had taken, for I think that I had done no such saucy wrong whatsoever as to justify my receding from what I had done, as demanded by the Premier. But at the same time, I shall not have the least objection, as duty bound, to submit myself to the order that may emanate from you in this regard for which I shall be keenly waiting.<sup>3</sup>

Please treat this as most urgent.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMED ZAKAULLAH  
*President,*  
*Simla District Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>No. 161.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah thanked him for giving a factual report of the black flag demonstration in Simla. See F. 470/4, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>Jinnah expected him to attend the AIML Council meeting on October 26 when the matter could be thrashed out properly. See F. 470/8, QAP. Not printed.

## 170

*Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/135*

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,  
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH,  
3 October 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

I write this letter to you in connection with the extremely painful affair of Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq. Everyone amongst us is fully satisfied and heartily praises your policy and the manner in which you have executed it. The countrywide demonstrations of the Musalmans have also shown clearly that the entire Muslim India is solidly behind you and the All India Muslim League. It is, however, painful that some of the young men, especially of Bengal, are overdoing their work and their action might lead to undesirable consequences. The Musalmans have not been used to discipline for centuries. Personal considerations have, more or less, crept into their very being. Now only, since a few days, they are learning their lesson in national discipline and that too from the All India Muslim League. It is, therefore, premature to expect from them a discipline which overrides their all [sic] individual self. It might perhaps be necessary that consistent[ly] with the real national good, the Musalmans, like Sir Sikander [Hyat Khan] and Mr. Fazlul Huq, may be sympathetically treated.

I, therefore, venture to request that you should take this matter entirely in your hand and instruct the Muslim Leaguers, especially of Bengal, not to vilify and antagonize Mr. Fazlul Huq. The loss of Mr. Fazlul Huq, especially for Bengal, is immense and the manner in which some new lights are trying to replace him is not highly satisfactory for the Muslim cause.

In the end, I request you to excuse me from entering into the sphere of practical politics where none but you alone amongst us can succeed. But I believe that I must say what I earnestly feel,

specially when you are so kindly and affectionately disposed towards me.

With best wishes,

Yours devotedly,  
MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI  
*Professor*  
M. Sc., Ph. D.

171

*Munawwar Abbas to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 917/45

LAKHIMPUR, U. P.,  
3 October 1941

Quaid-i-Azam,  
*Salaam*

Enclosed is an attempt at stating the Muslim case against one-nation theory.

If it is worthwhile, kindly send it on to Propaganda Office.

May you live long and guide us to the achievement of our goal. *Aameen*

Yours obediently,  
MUNAWWAR ABBAS  
B.A., LL.B.  
*Vakil*

*Enclosure*

F. 917/46-52  
[Extract]

ARE MUSALMANS AND HINDUS OF INDIA ONE NATION?

It is a fallacy to compare the Muslims of India with any other minority in the world. There is no parallel to them under the sun. In the first place, this minority is as numerous as the whole German nation under the Greater Reich, and, in the second place, the differences between this minority and the majority are religious, social, political, of outlook and of demeanour.

The only thing common between the two nations of India was

language. Thanks to the efforts of M. K. Gandhi and the vast number of his followers to drag India back to the pre-Muslim era, this also is disappearing fast. A new language under the garb of Hindi has been and is being unearthed from the dead languages of India of about 2000 B.C.

With the advent of political and constitutional reforms, Indians began to think of independence, and the Muslims for the first time realised what their position in India, ruled and governed by the party system, will be.

The demand for Pakistan is really the demand of a much oppressed younger brother to partition the paternal home. He wants a corner of the building to himself, where he and his [family] can live their own life in their own way, immune from the persistent molestation, domination, oppression and suppression by his elder brother. In questions of interest to the parental building, as a whole, he wants to remain with his elders.

No doubt the Muslim League was the first to give expression to the dormant feelings of the Muslims but now that the pent up feelings have assumed form, the Muslim League or non-Muslim League Musalmans cannot be coerced or persuaded into accepting any other alternative.

Musalmans of India love freedom and liberty as much as any other son of the land does but they do not want a change of masters. They do not want British rule over themselves but will not be fooled into exchanging it for Hindu domination of which they have had a foretaste during the Congress rule of two years and a half.

[MUNAWWAR ABBAS]  
*A Radical Muslim of U. P.*

172

*Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 346/3-6*

CONFIDENTIAL

SRINAGAR,  
3 October 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been thinking for sometime past of writing to you what Sir Sikander Hyat Khan feels about his membership of the Working



Committee of the All India Muslim League, and would have preferred to do so personally but as I may not get an opportunity of seeing you before the next meeting of the Working Committee, I thought I should write to you about it.

In spite of the fact that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, along with all other members of the Punjab Assembly, joined the Muslim League at Lucknow with the sole desire of strengthening the Muslim League organisation, and since then has faithfully carried out its decisions, there has not been a single meeting of the Working Committee when, in spite of your frequent intervention, some members have not indulged in making personal attacks on him and there cannot be the slightest doubt that, if it were not for the great personal regard which he has for you, he would have abstained from attending these meetings. Even at the last meeting of the Working Committee at Bombay, a member made most undignified personal attacks on him while the resolution regarding Iran was under discussion. You can well imagine how terribly we were all shocked when we learnt of this at Bombay; and although in political life one has to tolerate such things at the hands of political adversaries, one seldom expects such ungenerous treatment from one's own friends and colleagues. It may be that this atmosphere in the Working Committee is due to the fact that the Committee contains a majority of those members who come from the provinces where the Muslim League Party, being in opposition, has naturally developed a mentality charged with suspicion, bitterness and hatred. There were also strong rumours at Bombay that the black flag demonstrations were arranged or, at least, encouraged by a prominent member of the Working Committee and, contrary to your wishes, photographs of those demonstrations were sent for publication all over India. Such incidents have been causing resentment and bitterness in the minds of a large number of influential Muslims of the Punjab who look upon Sir Sikander as their leader and hold him in high esteem not because of his being the Premier but owing to his personal and social relations with them. It was perhaps due to these feelings that at the meeting of the Muslim members of the Provincial and Central Legislatures from the Punjab, held at Lahore on the Premier's return from Bombay, almost every speaker remarked that the Premier should not remain a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. Several of them quoted the instance of the Congress and said that none of the Congress Ministers was ever appointed member of the Congress Working Committee although they remained members of the

Congress and were present at all the meetings of the Working Committee by special invitation.

As you are perhaps aware, Malik Barkat Ali's nomination on the Working Committee caused a good deal of surprise and resentment in the League circles in the Province. It gave a handle to Sir Sikander's political opponents to carry on a vicious propaganda that Quaid-i-Azam had no faith in the Provincial Muslim League and in spite of the fact that Malik [Barkat Ali] had no following in the Province, put him on the Working Committee simply because he opposed the present Government inside and outside the Legislature and sits on the opposition benches in contravention of Jinnah-Sikander Pact.<sup>1</sup> In all the by-elections, held in the Punjab, Malik Sahib openly opposed every candidate who was supported by the Muslim League, and thus has been all along trying to create a split in the Party.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan himself believes that he could be more useful to the League if he were not on the Working Committee and attended such meetings by special invitation, if and when invited. However, it is for you to decide<sup>2</sup> what you consider is the best course to adopt, but I considered it my duty to keep you posted with these important developments in the Province. In my own humble opinion you will strengthen the League in the Punjab if you will talk over these matters with Sir Sikander Hyat Khan at the earliest opportunity and find a remedy acceptable to both of you.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
GHAZANFAR ALI

<sup>1</sup>See Enclosure to No. 538, JP, X, 545-6.

<sup>2</sup>No. 176.

## 173

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan<sup>1</sup>*

5 October 1941

Many thanks for your letter.<sup>2</sup> Yes, I did hear from [Mirza Abol] Hassan [Ispahani]<sup>3</sup> regarding the change of the venue of the meeting of the Council from Delhi to Calcutta, and I have already written to him pointing out various difficulties. I will explain to you also when we meet.

With regard to the Crown Company of Canada, I do not know anything about it but I shall try and make enquiries and shall let you

know when we meet in Delhi. I may go to Delhi by the middle of October as at present advised, and I hope that you will also come a few days earlier before the meeting of the Council.

Yours affectionately,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 12.

<sup>2</sup>Annex.

<sup>3</sup>No. 146.

### *Annex*

*Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

LUCKNOW,  
[Undated] October 1941

My dear uncle,

[M. A.] Hasan [Ispahani] must have written to you concerning the decision we had arrived at about the [All India Muslim League] Council meeting.<sup>2</sup> During my four days' stay, I met [Khwaja] Shahabuddin, Nooruddin [and] Shaheed [Suhrawardy] and received news from [Fazlul] Huq's party. The pro-League group is all in favour of changing the venue of the Council meeting from Delhi to Calcutta. They all feel that such a change will have great cementing effect on the anti-Huq quartet. At present, everyone of them is suspicious of the other. Shaheed feels that [Nawab of] Dacca is slipping and may go over to [Fazlul] Huq on the question of dog-racing. [Khwaja] Nazim[uddin] is being forced by the European group to adopt an attitude of benevolent neutrality. [Moulvi] Tamizuddin is calculating and considering whether he will be able to return to the Council without Huq's support. Khairul Anam [Khan] (son of M. Akrum Khan) told me that Huq still wielded great influence over the Bengal masses, and that since his paper adopted an anti-Huq policy, the circulation went down considerably.

Let us once run over Bengal. This time is most opportune. If *Allah* wills, we will crush Mr. Huq and his party.

There is a personal matter in which I would like to have your opinion. I would like to be insured. Is the Crown Company of Canada ■ good concern to deal with?

With best compliments and affectionate regards,

Yours,  
AMIR

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 306.

<sup>2</sup>No. 146.



## 174

*M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 310/12*

51 EZRA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
6 October 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 18th September.<sup>1</sup> I went to Lucknow for a few days.

I discussed the matter of the *Star of India* with Sir Adamjee. So far, Sir Adamjee has not committed himself. If he is willing to continue the payment of his 50 per cent share of the loss for the sake of the Musalmans of this Province and India, we shall also do our bit. As a matter of fact, he put a limit of Rs. 15,000 on his losses. I am certain this limit will be exceeded before this year is out. If it is to be 50:50, I have taken the responsibility for the extra losses of over Rs. 15,000 for this year but if this is to continue then, in equity, we both should share the loss. I assure you that Hassan [Ispahani] is doing his best in getting advertisements and subscribers for this paper but, unfortunately, the Musalmans of Bengal are totally lacking in spirit. The figures that I gave you in my previous letters show how many Muslims are subscribers of the *Star of India*.

You are expected in Bengal some time next month. When you come, we can sit and settle the fate of this paper for at least another year.

For your information, I enclose a copy of the letter<sup>2</sup> that was addressed to me by [Huseyn] Shaheed [Suhrawardy] and my reply to him. There is a lot to be done in Bengal and the sooner the things are properly organised and the [Muslim] League strengthened the less the so-called leaders will be able to play tunes to suit their own whims.

With kindest regards and best wishes to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. ISPAHANI

<sup>1</sup>No. 132.

<sup>2</sup>No. 160.



175

*M. A. Jinnah to H. S. Suhrawardy**F. 458/29*

6 October 1941

My dear Shaheed,

On my return from Lucknow, I opened your letter of the 28th September.<sup>1</sup>

I am in agreement with you that Bengal has to be made 100 per cent League-minded. No giant, however huge, should have the strength, impudence or presumption to challenge, to the slightest degree, the power of the premier Muslim organisation. Past attempts have not offered encouragement to those keenly interested in the [Muslim] League and its development in the Province. While the skies were clear and the sailing good, the attention that the organisation of the League deserved was not paid. Those who worked and raised the League in the Province were forgotten and new adhesions and contacts to suit the convenience of the Provincial leaders were made. Every leader of the Province lulled into a position of contentment and security [*sic* for Secretary] did not bother, as he should have done, about the League.

What guarantee is there for one to feel that the times have changed and that serious business is meant this time? What is the guarantee that the money raised will be exclusively utilised for organising the League and further what is the guarantee that not a *pie* will be wasted? Suppose funds are raised and are wasted, who will be responsible? Frankly, unless an assurance is given that 'goods will be delivered,' I do not see any hope of our being able to raise any money in Calcutta anyway.

I am not interested in quarrels between the individuals nor am I concerned with whether Mr. X. or Mr. Y. wields power in this Province. I am concerned with the League, our political organisation, and if a clear undertaking is given that 'the goods will be delivered', we shall, as we have done on every occasion since the All India [Muslim] League became a live and active organisation, again gladly do our bit.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Mr. H. Shaheed Suhrawardy,  
Mount Everest Hotel,  
Darjeeling

<sup>1</sup>No. 160.

## 176

*M. A. Jinnah to Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan**F. 346/7**8 October 1941*

Dear Raja Ghazanfar Ali,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd of October, 1941<sup>1</sup> and it is really impossible for me to discuss the matter by means of correspondence. But I suppose you will all be there at Delhi for the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, which is fixed for the 26th of October. We will then discuss the matter.

By the way, isn't it a pity that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan should have again fired off his views dealing with an all-India issue at the banquet of the Governor and still more in his statement of the 3rd of October, giving an ultimatum to the Government without even informing me that he was going to do so.

We will, however, discuss the matter when we meet.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 172.

## 177

*A. M. Docrat to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/275*

272 EDWARD STREET,  
RANGOON,  
BURMA,  
*8 October 1941*

Dear beloved leader,

I herewith enclose a Demand Draft No. 3599 on the National City Bank of New York, Bombay, dated 8.10.1941, for Rs. 1000 (Rupees one thousand) only. Kindly utilise this amount for political uplift of Indian Muslims as you think fit and proper. For your information, I beg to say that the amount is subscribed by my friends. Kindly acknowledge the receipt thereof.

May Almighty *Allah* give you long life and every success in your

struggle for the cause of Muslim India.

Yours faithfully,  
A. M. DOCRAT

178

*Manu Subedar to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 874/222-4*

KODAK HOUSE,  
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,  
BOMBAY,  
9 October 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In the last of my two interviews with you, when you very kindly spared time to explain the position to me, I sought your permission, when I was leaving you, to approach you again if and when there was a point on which I felt something useful could be done.

I have never ceased, since that time, giving close thought to the subject.

There are various preliminary points on which an agreement by both sides can be indicated (without prejudice to their main contentions). These are:

- i. Both sides will settle the question of constitution for India amongst themselves, i.e. without an appeal to or the intervention of the third party.
- ii. That both sides affirm that they will use all their power and influence to see that the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question, including the question of the constitution, is reached peacefully and through non-violent means.

I have noticed the existence of a suspicion on both sides that the other party is trying to conspire or otherwise receive the assistance of the British authorities with a view to consolidating its own position to the prejudice of the other. All discussions must be futile so long as this is the case. On the other hand, even this negative proposition contains the germ of a suggestion that, if and when the discussions do not lead to a settlement and the differences still remain, some machinery of determination or arbitration must be devised to get rid of the final differences, and the decisions of such a machinery must be accepted by both sides.

With regard to the second principle, here again a large volume of suspicion at present existent on both sides, particularly with reference

to the riots, must be got out of the way. Whatever the ultimate constitution for India may be, and even if it is the scheme of Pakistan for the general acceptance of which you made an appeal at Madras, is it to be established through goodwill and understanding or by force? The question of force would only intensify the suspicions at present existent and must appear to both sides as a threat by the other. Would it be possible to remove this suspicion and this threat by a mutual agreement on this preliminary general principle?

If [Winston] Churchill and [Franklin] Roosevelt could put forward in their proposed new order that all settlements between the States will take place by negotiation and without the use of force, could we not lay the foundation of the future of this country in which we are all living by the declaration and acceptance of such a principle?

This is, in more sense than one, inherent in the Monroe Doctrine,<sup>1</sup> which you have yourself enunciated. The States of India could not stand by one another in the event of a foreign attack unless they have definitely agreed with each other that all issues between them will be settled peacefully and non-violently.

While I have no definite authority from the other side in putting forward these suggestions, as far as I am able to understand Mahatma Gandhi's mind (and I assure you, I have had many opportunities and many channels to know it), I am confident that ■ gesture of this kind will make an immediate appeal to him. It will eliminate some of the elements, which he has felt as big obstacles in the approach between himself and yourself.

Yours sincerely,  
MANU SUBEDAR

<sup>1</sup>The doctrine, formulated by the U.S. President James Monroe (1817-25) in 1923, stated that any attempt by European powers to interfere in the affairs of any country in North or South America, or to acquire territory on either continent, would be regarded by the U.S. as an unfriendly act.

## 179

*Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 329/159-60

PESHAWAR,  
9 October 1941

Dear Sir,

I send herewith, in original, Mr. [Fazlul] Huq's letter.<sup>1</sup> It is at once



touching and straight. This much-worked and much-worried elder is deserving more of sympathy and charity than censure. He calls you chief and does not realise that he has been indiscreet in openly abusing his chief, but you have already forgiven him. You are the chief and you have to stand our puerile pranks. I always look upon you as my elder and more of a father than a mere elder and I can rely upon your gracious indulgence. I appeal to you to forgive Mr. Huq. My heart will break if you treat Mr. Huq in any harsh way. 'Handsome is that handsome does.' You are our boss and you have to forgive like a boss.

I assure you, dear Sir, when Mr. Huq talks of genuine reconciliation between our chief and the Viceroy, he means it. He looks upon you as his chief and as a chief you have to humour up your team. We are your team and you have to pass over our faults. There will be no more chopping of law and logic with you. We cannot and should not argue a case with you and it is up to you to give your most affectionate and softest words to Mr. Huq when he starts ■ telephonic talk with you. His letter, in between the lines, betrays his grief which you in your second public statement<sup>2</sup> had predicted (that Mr. Huq in his calmer moments will be sorry for what he has said about me [you] and all and sundry) has turned out literally true within a fortnight. You—a great leader—rather the leader of your unfortunate people and you have to kill us with courtesy. Mr. Huq wanted a bit of your mind and he has got it. Delhi black flagged him, which he deserved, but you have to close it. You have to mend it and not end it.

May God Almighty grant you guidance to guide our erring steps.

Mr. Huq's defection will be at least as harmful as Allah Bakhsh's treachery. Therefore, it is expedient that we should have him. Unlike Allah Bakhsh, Mr. Huq is suffering from a weak impulsive heart and not a black heart.

In this episode your cause has triumphed all round and it is the height of your nobility that you should be pleased to forgive and forget.

With affectionate regards,

Yours obediently,  
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

<sup>1</sup>See F. 329/157, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 1022/16, QAP. Not printed.

## 180

*M. A. Jinnah to Gulu Saith**F. 854/9**11 October 1941*

Dear Khan Bahadur Gulu Saith,

Day before yesterday, I had a long talk with Mr. Kanchwala with regard to the Muslim children's school at Matheran. You know we have been able to collect some money with the help of some friends, in which you took a very prominent part during my visit to Matheran. We have also secured a plot and it is up to us now to put up a building and establish the school as soon as possible. For that purpose, I have secured a provisional plan of the building and the estimate. None can help us more than you and Mr. Kanchwala who are constant visitors to Matheran.

I shall, therefore, feel obliged if you can see me early next week any day at about 10.30 a.m. or any other time that may suit you. Please let me know beforehand the time and date so that I may communicate with Mr. Kanchwala [and] so that we three can meet together.

Hoping you are well [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Khan Bahadur Gulu Saith,  
Najje, Neral

## 181

*M. A. Jinnah to Hasan Ahmad<sup>1</sup>*

BOMBAY,  
*11 October 1941*

Dear Mr. Hasan Ahmad,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th of September,<sup>2</sup> and I am enclosing herewith my statement which I hope will meet your requirements:

During the last few years, the All India Muslim League and the great Muslim nation have been fully organised, such as they have never been in the history of British India. Constant

appeals have been made to me for sometime past that this great organisation should have a properly-controlled and supervised English daily, which would authoritatively expound the views and express the opinion and sentiment of Muslim India, who are handicapped for want of such a channel, so essential in these days. In response to these appeals from all quarters of the country, I am glad that, at last, an English weekly, the *Dawn*, is founded and established in Delhi, the capital city of India, which is at present the nerve centre of all political activities.

The *Dawn* will mirror faithfully the views of Muslim India and the All India Muslim League in all its activities—economic, educational and social, and more particularly political, throughout the country, fearlessly and independently; and while its policy will be, no doubt, mainly to advocate and champion the cause of the Musalmans and the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League, it will not neglect the cause and welfare of the peoples of this sub-continent generally.

I may make it clear that the *Dawn* has nothing to do with the scheme of the Bombay Presidency Press and Propaganda Fund, which was only confined to the western zone, nor will it in anyway be financed from the funds of the All India Muslim League. It is entirely an independent venture as an effort made by a few individuals in the shape of a small beginning.

I, therefore, fervently appeal, specially to every Musalman, to support this venture in every way one can, and become its subscriber and reader. It will entirely depend upon the public now to prove the earnestness and desire, which they have exhibited so long, for an organ of this character by supporting it, and upon their support and sympathy will depend the consideration of converting this small paper into a first-class English daily.

I sincerely trust that the Musalmans will realise the importance of this effort. It is the small beginning that leads to great things and with all the support that I expect from the Musalmans, I cannot see any reason why we should not be able to convert the *Dawn* into a first-class English daily very soon.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Pirzada, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, 137-8.

<sup>2</sup>Not traced.



## 182

*M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Ali Ghulam Husain*

*F. 1009/137*

11 October 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th September 1941,<sup>1</sup> asking me for a message to be published in your monthly magazine, *Pakistan*, the first issue of which you propose to bring out on the 'Id day.

For the purpose of this message let me draw your attention to the presidential address which I delivered at the Lahore session of the All India Muslim League in March 1940, where I said as follows:

The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character, but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realised, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful, not only to the Musalmans but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into autonomous national States. There is no reason why these States should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural goodwill by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of Muslims and various other minorities.

While wishing you all success in your venture, I hope that your journal will advocate and champion the cause of the All India Muslim League fearlessly and independently and further its policy and programme.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Ghulam Ali Ghulam Husain, Esq.,  
Editor, *Pakistan*,  
86, 90 Dongri Street,  
Bombay

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.



183

*Shaikh Farid & Others to M. A. Jinnah**F. 965/40-4*DEWALWADA,  
11 October 1941

Sir,

We, the following Muslim residents of Dewalwada, Station House Sirasgaon, *Taluqa* Ellichpur, beg to submit the following for enquiry and legal action.

2. Peace and tranquillity is in danger in our village, Dewalwada, by [sic] certain Hindu residents. They have premeditated and organised plans of doing so. In proof of this we beg to put before you the following facts:

- a. It is a long-established custom here that in the life of this village music was never played before the mosque which is hundreds of years old. This peace-maintaining convention was threatened last year on the occasion of *Dusehra* celebrations. But due to the presence of ■ non-Muslim Head Constable, peace was maintained. The Hindus were chastised by him for their mischievous intention and music was not played before the mosque. Then came the Sub-Inspector of Police for enquiry. The Hindus asserted that they had judicial order for playing music. They asked for time to show the order. Time was given but no order was shown by them and then they withdrew from furthering their efforts to mar the peace.

[*Sub-para (b) and a part of sub-para (c) omitted*]

- c. Local Hindus held a secret meeting. A resolution was moved to burn the Muslim houses at night and when they leave their houses, kill them with *bhalas* (spears) while running in despair. This dangerous plan of theirs could not be carried out due to differences amongst themselves. On Saturday and Sunday, no *ruth* [chariot] was taken out. The Muslims thought they were out of danger.
- d. All of a sudden on Monday, the *Ruth* of Brahminpuri was taken out in a procession of about 500 people. The *akhara* [wrestling ring] people also appeared. The Muslims felt very anxious. The processionists took two Muslims with them and their leaders assured that they had no intention to play

music before the mosque. The Muslims believed them and the majority of the Muslims busied [themselves] in work. To the utter wonder of the Muslims, this procession of about 500 people, armed with *bhalas* and with a furious show of force, marched in front of the mosque playing music very noisily. Sober-minded Muslims controlled the excited Muslims with great difficulty and very patiently avoided the riot.

- e. A meeting was again held at night, headed by Baburao Bhongare of Brahminwada. All could not be known as to what had passed at the meeting but immediately provocative actions followed. The Muslims were refused employment by Hindu masters and six Muslim boys, who had gone to the jungle for collecting grass, were caught by 70 Hindus and forcibly taken to Chandur Bazar Police Station. The accompanying Hindus charged these Muslims for [*sic* for with] coming in their way of playing music before the mosque. These boys were given threats and after long detention were set free by the Sub-Inspector of Police, Chandur Bazar, who had not even allowed tea offered to them by Chandur Bazar Muslims who felt pity for them. This is to be noted that Dewalwada is under the jurisdiction of Station House Officer, Sirasgaon, who happens to be a Muslim and the Sub-Inspector Chandur Bazar is a Hindu.

3. We hope that you will very kindly enquire into these systematic preparations of Hindus of Dewalwada, whose acts are leading day by day towards disturbing the peace and tranquillity, and take proper action to prevent furtherance of their ill-intentions.

We beg to remain,

Sir,

Yours obediently,

SHAIKH FARID AND OTHERS

## 184

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hameed Khan<sup>1</sup>*

12 October 1941

Dear Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th<sup>2</sup> enclosing a press cutting from *The Mail*. Yes, it was very interesting indeed.

I agree with you that the statement issued by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan is very unfortunate. Similarly, I agree with you in deploring the recent conduct of Mr. Fazlul Huq. Their attitude is doing enormous harm to our cause, which is above all. It is one of the problems which we have all got to face and put our heads together to deal with. But what do you suggest we should do now?

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, Letters, I, 13.

<sup>2</sup>Not traced.

## 185

*Shakir Husain Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/280*

PRIVATE

41 MUMTAZ HOSTEL,  
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH,  
13 October 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You will remember that in August last an attempt was made by the students to condemn the conduct of those who had associated themselves with the Defence Council and the Viceroy's expanded Council without permission of the Muslim League.<sup>1</sup> But the attempt was foiled by the President of the Union through dilatory tactics. When Mr. Fazlul Huq's letter to the Secretary of the Muslim League was published,<sup>2</sup> there was a wave of indignation among the students. Some of them gave notice of a resolution, copy of which is enclosed herewith.<sup>3</sup> The President again adopted dilatory tactics and kept the matter in suspense for more than a fortnight till the autumn holidays commenced on the 12th instant and the students dispersed. This suppression of their legitimate liberties is deeply resented; but under the circumstances they [students] are helpless. I have taken the liberty to bring the matter to your notice and I hope you will consider it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
SHAKIR H. KHAN  
*Secretary,*  
*Muslim University Union*

<sup>1</sup>See No. 53.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 117, note 1.

<sup>3</sup>Not traced.

## 186

*M. A. Jinnah to Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada*

*F. 404/2-3*

*13 October 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 2nd October 1941,<sup>1</sup> and I am glad to learn that you propose to bring out an Urdu magazine under the auspices of the Muslim Students' Association of St. Xavier's College.

As for the message, let me remind you of what I said at Lahore during my presidential address at the session of the All India Muslim League in March 1940.

Musalman are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in ■ way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands and vital interest of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time, we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences and make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

The future of a nation depends upon its intelligentsia and I hope that your magazine will create among you all a spirit of co-operation, unity of thought and purpose, and strength of mind and determination to make you fit to take the reins of the nation to which you belong.

In the end I wish you all success,

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Esq.,  
Editor,  
*Caravan-e-Xavier*,  
142 Jamli Mohalla,  
Bombay

<sup>1</sup>See F. 404/1, QAP. Not printed.



187

*Waris Ameer Ali to M. A. Jinnah**SHC, FC II/92*

PALL MALL,  
LONDON, S.W.1.,  
15 October 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have read with much interest in the English newspapers about your actions as head of the Muslim League, which bring to mind its early days when you and others worked with my father<sup>1</sup> and H. H. the Aga Khan. Yours was one of the first names I remember.

I would have written to you before but was doing honorary war work for ■ year, and then was seriously ill. As I am answering certain enquiries by Sir Abdoola Haroon, I think it only right to send you a copy of my reply<sup>2</sup> to him.

May I say that I greatly admire the firm stand you have taken in defence of Muslim interests in India and your efforts to maintain unity.

It is, of course, according to custom for any organisation to lay down broad lines of policy and to expect its members to adhere to them.

The executive of the League has now asserted its authority. As the son of one of its founders and a sincere friend, I would, however, earnestly suggest your reconsideration of the policy of not officially taking part in India's war efforts. To follow Mr. Gandhi's lead does not necessarily mean that you trumped him. Public opinion in Britain and America after the War will not be impressed by hard luck stories from the Congress, still less by Muslim claim for consideration, if the Muslim organisation refuses to participate fully in the war efforts. You have been mercifully spared the horrors of War uptill now. People who have not, will have little use for dialectics.

You will forgive my reminding you that I watched over your interests in both Houses of Parliament during the Committee stage of the India Bill and always endeavoured, as far as is consistent with loyalty to the Crown, to do so.

You will appreciate, therefore, the sincerity of my suggestion and believe me,

Yours sincerely,  
WARIS AMEER ALI<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Syed Ameer Ali (1849-1928); Barrister-at-Law (Inner Temple), 1873; first Muslim judge of Calcutta High Court; first Indian member of Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; jurist and author.

<sup>2</sup>See SHC, FC II/93. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>Belonged to the Indian Civil Service.

188

*Inamullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 874/225*

336 MONKEY POINT ROAD,  
RANGOON,  
15 October 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

It is after ■ long time that I am having the pleasure of writing you a few lines. After consulting some of the prominent and responsible local Musalmans, I am attaching a small note for your kind perusal. In my note, I am voicing the feelings of the major section of the Muslim population which I hope will not go unheeded. Our position in Burma is being made awful by our interested brethren, so we are anxious that real Muslim leaders of India do not take such an outstanding interest in the matter as to jeopardize our interests here. We are indeed surprised at the tall [*sic*] speech of Mr. A. R. Siddiqui<sup>1</sup> at Calcutta and then at the motion of Ghuznavi.<sup>2</sup> Their opportunism for leadership and popularity is doing us more harm than good.

Please help us and oblige,

Yours fraternally,  
INAMULLAH KHAN  
*Superintendent & Headmaster,  
Islamia A. V. High School*

<sup>1</sup>Assistant Editor, *Comrade*, Calcutta, 1911; called to the Bar, 1922; Mayor of Calcutta, 1940; Editor, *Morning News*, Calcutta, 1942-48; later, Governor of East Pakistan.

<sup>2</sup>Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, Member, Indian Legislative Assembly, 1927-45; delegate to the three Round Table Conferences in London, 1930-32; concluded an agreement in January, 1937, with Maharaja of Burdwan, which led to the cessation of agitation against the Communal Award of 1932 in Bengal.

*Enclosure to No. 188*

*F. 874/226*

[*Extract*]

We are in Burma and have to live on the goodwill of the sons of the soil. As such interested parties are creating enough storm against our community and are trying to create a rift

between us and the Burmese. Unfortunately, Mr. Tyabji led the delegation to India and the fact that a Musalman led it was made much of by the mischief-mongers here.

It is understood that the delegation urged on the weighty Muslim bodies, specially the Muslim League in India, to register their protest against the said Agreement [Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement]. It is feared here that this move on the part of Indian Muslims would be misconstrued and might have adverse effect on the position of Muslims in Burma. It is, therefore, suggested that they should not take any initiative in the matter, specially when their [Muslims'] interests in the main are not seriously jeopardized by the said Agreement.

189

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/87-90*

51 EZRA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
16 October 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 13th October.<sup>1</sup>

My silence was due to the fact that I had nothing sensational or fresh to report until yesterday. After the prorogation of the Legislative Assembly, the rush, bustle and excitement subsided. Mr. Fazlul Huq went away to Simla and promised to issue a comprehensive statement on his return, which he has not done. A few weeks ago, in one of the leading articles of the *Star of India*, Mr. Huq's attention was drawn to his promise but still he did not respond. Mr. Huq, after arranging a tour programme for himself which occupied two days of his time on his return from Simla, went up to Darjeeling. The other Ministers were there also and after much difficulty, because Mr. Fazlul Huq was all the time trying to avoid the issue, I am told, a meeting of the Muslim Ministers was arranged. At the first meeting Nazimuddin, Tamizuddin, Fazlul Huq and His Excellency were present. After talking for an hour or two the meeting came to no definite conclusion because Mr. Huq said that he wanted Sir Bejoy Singh, the Revenue Minister, and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca to be present; and that unless they participated, he



could not arrive at a definite conclusion. So the meeting was adjourned for the next day and the Nawab Bahadur and Sir Bejoy Singh were brought in. Again, there were prolonged discussions and once again Mr. Fazlul Huq would not commit himself. He ended the meeting by saying that he had to go to Calcutta to consult his followers and that unless he obtained their advice, approval and direction, he could neither say nor do anything definite. Mr. Fazlul Huq came down to Calcutta and a day later Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Nazimuddin and Shahabuddin followed suit.

While in Darjeeling, Mr. Fazlul Huq, it is reported, wrote letters to a large number of Muslim MLAs and Scheduled-Caste Members of the Assembly asking them to meet him in Calcutta on a certain day. On the appointed day, barely 20 Muslims and a handful of Scheduled-Caste Members attended the meeting. The response, I am again told, disappointed Fazlul Huq. However, he is in close touch with Shamsuddin, the leader of the Proja opposition rump, Sarat [Chandra] Bose, and the Congressites of Bengal. These supporters are insisting on wide expansion of the Cabinet which is certainly not acceptable to us, or in the alternative, are advising him to break away without delay before he totally loses influence in the Province and before his personality is drowned in the flood of the League.

Whilst here, he launched a fresh enterprise, namely the Bengalee newspaper *Nayayuga* (New Era). This has been brought out to compete with the *Azad* and ourselves. Mr. Fazlul Huq's speech delivered at the gathering to celebrate the birth of *Nayayuga* is very interesting reading. He complains that not a single Muslim-owned newspaper in the Province supported him in his recent stand vis-a-vis the League, as embodied in his letter of the 8th of September,<sup>2</sup> and that he was being victimized and villified throughout the Province and that, as a result, he found it necessary to have a newspaper to ventilate his own decided views and the views of those of his way of thinking, before it was too late. He does not know the difficulties that the newspaper business is passing through these days. He does not realise that some of the oldest newspapers with large circulation will soon have to think of closing down because the income, as compared to the expenditure, is showing signs of more and more shrinkage. Further, newsprint is not available at a reasonable price and not one ream more than the quota allotted can be secured even by the oldest newspapers. In these circumstances, I do not see how and where Mr. Fazlul Huq will get paper cheaply and secure the quantity that a newspaper requires. I have no doubt



that the *Azad* will not suffer, nor have I any doubt that Mr. Fazlul Huq will soon burn his fingers and give up this venture as a bad job.

At the launching of the paper, all the Hindu newspaper representatives were present. Not a single Muslim newspaper [representative] was invited to the function; so Mr. Fazlul Huq was able to tell many lies without being contradicted, but such lies have not taken him and will not take him far.

We had a conference on the eve of the return of Nazimuddin, Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and Shahabuddin. The night before last, we talked from 9 o'clock till one o'clock and came to the decision that the issue will have to be clinched within this week. We have either to fight Fazlul Huq or Fazlul Huq has to withdraw his letter of the 8th September and express regret for the language embodied in it.

We are not prepared to accept the expansion proposal because it will mean the bringing in of elements that will do injury to the Muslim League in the Province. We have had one previous experience some time ago when Shamsuddin came in. He went round in his Ministerial capacity, preaching the gospel of the Proja. We had to push him out of the Cabinet to put an end to the nuisance.

However, briefly the position may be summed up as follows:

If Fazlul Huq does not withdraw his letter with apology then war will be declared. He will push on with his propaganda and appeal to the Muslims and will press the no-confidence motion against Shaheed, and maybe, some other Muslim League Ministers coupled with Shaheed. Of course, the moment that such a motion is pressed over, four League Ministers and perhaps one or two Hindus will resign from the Cabinet. The Government will fall and the Governor will call upon either the leader of the League or Fazlul Huq to form the Government. As we are the largest group in fact, and on Fazlul Huq's own admission to the Governor in Darjeeling, it is more than likely that, *Insha Allah*, we shall be summoned. Once sent for, many waverers, who are sitting on the fence, will throw in their lot with the party called to form the Government, will come and join us, and we hope, *Insha Allah*, to have a working majority in the House. If Fazlul Huq is sent for, he will then be in an advantageous position and it is more than probable that with the mid-air waverers, he too will be able to establish a majority.

The Europeans seem to be inclined towards us because they can place more reliance on us than on Fazlul Huq and his rabble. Further, they are hostile to the idea of working with Sarat Bose and his gang. Further, as Sarat Bose and his party have declared their

open opposition to Britain's war and her war aims, it will not be possible for the Governor to accept him or anyone in his party as Minister.

If Fazlul Huq agrees to withdraw his letter and apologises on condition [that] he is allowed to expand the Council of Ministers, we shall throw a sop to him by agreeing to expansion by one if the person selected is a non-party Muslim and one who enjoys the full confidence of both sides—ours and his. This distance we may go to give Huq a chance to save his face before his own followers.

The Europeans have said to Huq and others that they may agree to an expansion of one or so but not the three or four additions that Huq wants.

The Europeans and the Governor are doing everything to maintain peace in the Province, because they feel a fight between us will surely affect the war effort of the Province. There will definitely be a certain amount of unrest—political and labour—and production will suffer.

When the crowd (I mean the Ministers) were up at Darjeeling, it was agreed between the representatives of the League and Huq to declare a truce until such time as they decided to break away and fight. This agreement was arrived at, at the instance of the European Group in the presence of the Governor. Orders were issued to stop all agitation and work through the press or platform. We accordingly ceased fire. Huq, as usual, has not adhered to his undertaking. He is working in the districts and is abusing the League Ministers and is charging them with disloyalty to him for having been [a] party to the resolutions passed by the Provincial League Working Committee when it met to consider Huq's letter of the 8th September. His speech has been reported and our friends in Darjeeling will draw the pointed attention of the Europeans and H. E. to the flagrant breach of a solemn undertaking by him.

However, within a week we should hear something definite from Darjeeling. This animated suspense and the consequent inactivity must cease.

If we are to fight, *Insha Allah*, we shall not hesitate. The League is strong in the heart of the poor villager in Bengal. Fazlul Huq has discovered this fact and is now shedding tears for having made it strong in this Province—so he thinks! In my opinion, he has been an awful poison in the system of the League and the sooner he is got rid of, the quicker will the League improve. We shall certainly have more time to devote our minds to more important all-India and international questions instead of dissipating our energies in minding

this semi-insane and highly mischievous and troublesome spoilt child.

More when we meet in Delhi, unless, of course, events warrant consultation with you or unless there is fresh news to give.

A fair-sized contingent of the Council Members will leave for Delhi. You shall hear Bengal's voice this time and I hope you will be happy.

With kind regards,

Always yours sincerely,  
HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah had asked Ispahani to keep him posted about the Bengal situation. See F. 306/86, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 117, note 1.

## 190

*Mohammad Abdul Wasay to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/282-3*

3 WAZIR MANZIL,  
MARRIS ROAD, ALIGARH,  
16 October 1941

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

As a young member of the great Muslim community, I am interested in the so-called Pakistan Scheme as put forward by the Lahore Resolution of 23rd March 1940. I have been busy for the last few weeks searching material for the same. But, unfortunately, only a couple of books are available in the University library here, which do not give the matter in its full capacity [sic].

May I take the privilege of asking your opinion and take the liberty of asking for a little help and guidance from you? I want to get some such material on the subject as may enable me to understand the Scheme nearly, if not wholly, from your point of view, and be able to write a good, informative and weighty essay on the subject.

I have also written to the Honorary Secretary in this connection. I just need to be shown the right path to the problem. The rest I shall try to think out and understand myself.

Hoping I shall have something of advice from you.

Thanking you in anticipation,

I beg to remain,  
one of your silent admirers,  
MOHAMMAD ABDUL WASAY  
M. A., LL. B. (Previous)



191

*M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah**F. 365/35-8*

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

124 MUSLIM COLONY,  
KARACHI,  
16 October 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

K. B. Allah Bakhsh saw me on the 13th evening and wanted me to request you on the phone to give him an appointment at Bombay. I, therefore, wired you about your programme and also phoned you on the 14th evening. After talking to you on the phone, I communicated to him that you had no objection to seeing him at Bombay on the 19th. He has already left for Delhi and will be coming over to Bombay from Delhi direct to see you on the 19th. I regret I cannot come to Bombay as I have very unavoidable business here. I am, however, coming to Delhi earlier [*sic*] and will be reaching there on the 23rd or latest 24th.

He has been telling me and Sheikh A. Majid about his anxiety to meet you and talk to you for interim settlement with the Congress on the basis of coalition ministries in all the provinces. We do not know whether you will be agreeable to any temporary settlement for the war period.

So far as Sind Province is concerned, we have told him that if you agree to the principle, we will place it before our party meeting. But most of us do not favour the idea of any expansion. We have, therefore, told him that in case you agreed, we should have two seats in the Cabinet, at least, out of four Muslim members in the Cabinet; and Sir Ghulam Hussain [has] to go. If he gave us any such proposal, we will place it before the party meeting and the Provincial League and communicate to him the decision.

It seems obvious that K. B. [Allah Bakhsh] has been talking to Gandhi and other Congress leaders about interim settlement. I am not aware of your views on the subject, and I will come to see you and talk to you in detail [about] what K. B. Allah Bakhsh says as soon as I reach Delhi. Perhaps he may also come again to see you at Delhi, second time, after we have seen you.

I have written to many Sindhi members of the AIML to attend Delhi session and reach there before 26th as it is a very important



session and the agenda also shows that. More when we meet.

With kindest regards,

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
M. A. KHUHHRO

## 192

*J. C. Dixit to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

GANGA PERSHAD BUILDINGS,  
LUCKNOW,  
16 October 1941

Respected Sir,

The Lucknow Students' Federation is holding its fifth Students' Conference here on the 29th and 30th of this month.

We have not heard [from] you for ■ long time. It is you who inaugurated our first All-India Students' Conference<sup>2</sup> in 1936 in the same hall in which we are meeting this month. The Lucknow Students' Federation has decided to invite you for inaugurating the Conference. We know that you are too busy but we, the students, have some claim over our elders.

The student community is the true symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity. It is we who have no communal problems before us. We are also organizing a Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference in the first week of November 1941. We want to invite you for that too.

Please give me your consent<sup>3</sup> and wire.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,  
J. C. DIXIT

PS. Herewith you will find an appeal,<sup>4</sup> please sign it and return.

J. C. DIXIT

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 307-8.

<sup>2</sup>The Conference was inaugurated by Jawaharlal Nehru and presided over by M. A. Jinnah. See Muhammad Ali Siddiqui, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: A Chronology*, Karachi, 1996, 147.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 204.

<sup>4</sup>Not traced.

193

*M. Ikram Alam to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/288-9*

138 CIVIL LINES,  
BAREILLY,  
17 October 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Within these four years, you have done for the Muslims of India what nobody else could have done in several decades. You have united them and brought them under one banner, ready to obey your commands at a moment's notice. Even the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan could not achieve so much.

Yet one pressing need at this critical time has not received its due share of your attention. It is ■ daily journal [*sic* for paper] of the Muslim League which should be our exponent all over India. For this we cannot wait [any] longer. In the near past you devoted your attention to this all-important question, collected subscriptions and prepared a scheme but perhaps owing to other more important affairs you put it off. Pray, look to this urgent need now. How badly we have been feeling this and what an immense loss we have been suffering for want of our own daily paper, I need not say. Pray, make a start today and at your bid[ding] everything will be complete[d]. Delhi will be the proper place for issuing such a paper.

A word about Pakistan: Rohilkhand demands a place in your scheme. When you visited Bareilly and I had the honour of entertaining you, we had a talk on this point. I have reiterated it in my presidential address—a printed copy of which, entitled *Nawai Ta'lim of the Muslims of Rohilkhand*,<sup>1</sup> is dispatched for your perusal.

Hoping this finds you in perfect health,

I remain,  
Yours sincerely,  
M. IKRAM ALAM  
*Advocate*

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

## 194

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohamed Burhanulhaq*

*SHC, CP & Berar I/68*

18 October 1941

Dear Moulana Sahib,

I am very glad indeed to hear<sup>1</sup> that you have established, in Jubbulpore, a Municipal Parliamentary Board and that you have decided to contest the forthcoming Municipal elections which are to take place about the middle of November next. As desired by you, my message to the Musalmans of Jubbulpore is to stand united and as disciplined soldiers to work under the banner of the Muslim League and support in every way and vote for the Muslim League candidates that may be nominated by the duly constituted authority of the Muslim League.

Wishing you and the Musalmans of Jubbulpore every success,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See Annex.

*Annex*

*Mohamed Burhanulhaq to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, CP & Berar I/67*

JUBBULPORE,

[Undated October 1941]

Dear Sir,

Jubbulpore has got over 25 thousand adult Muslim population in the Municipal area and we are about one-third in the whole city, two-thirds being Hindus, Sikhs, Jains and Christians. About ten years previously, the Muslim representation in the local Municipal Committee was negligible. It may be noted that joint electorate is in vogue in this Province as far as local bodies are concerned and even reservation of seats has not been granted. The result has always been disastrous for the Muslims. Thanks to the Muslim Municipal Commissioners of 1922-24 like our Mr. Tajuddin, new wards were so distributed that five Musalmans could be elected. But the Congress Ministry, when in office, abolished the nominated-seats and thus [a] new occasion was created to redistribute the wards. In this distribution,

the local Municipal Committee tried to wipe out Muslim representation altogether but the Town Muslim League was alert and wide awake, and we persuaded the Commissioner, Jubbulpore Division, to recommend the draft of the plan, submitted by the Muslim League, to the local Government. Backed by agitation and influence, we could secure a re-distribution of the wards in such a manner that in nine wards, out of 29, Musalmans have a fighting chance. In about six, they have a clear majority over Hindus and in other three wards the difference is negligible; and if Musalmans present a united front they are sure to secure nine seats in the general election. It is also worthwhile to note that local bodies have been granted adult franchise and as stated above the election system is pure and unalloyed joint electorate.

The local Muslim League, after securing successfully its map of redistribution of wards, appointed workers to get voters' list prepared and every male or female adult Muslim is now on the voters' list. The elections are to take place in the middle of November. The Town Muslim League has entrusted the whole election in [sic for to] the hands of a small body, called Muslim League Municipal Parliamentary Board, and it has been decided to contest elections in nine wards where Musalmans are in equal number or in a majority.

The election campaign is to open soon and on the opening day we need a few words of encouragement, a few lines of advice to Musalmans to rally under the League banner [and] a little prayer for our success from you, Sir, so that we may be guided by it and Musalmans may solidly work for the success of the League candidates.

We are very particular about nominating candidates, [and] keeping in view the efficiency and quality of candidates, we have taken advice of primary members of the League of every ward. Jubbulpore is proud of being a solid League town; even in these days of depression, we have about 7,000 primary members on our register. In some years, we could get 8,000 members but [due to] firing by Police, constant Hindu-Muslim riots, economic depression [and] disbanding of the volunteers' corps coupled with other local difficulties, we have this year this number of 7,000 which is equal to the number of members enlisted all over the Province combined. Thus, we have strong hope that your words will not fall on deaf ears.

We, therefore, request you to kindly send your message by return post for which we thank you in anticipation.

Yours obediently,  
MOHAMED BURHANULHAQ  
*President,*  
*Town & District Muslim League*



195

*M. A. Jinnah to A. M. Docrat**F. 1099/294*

18 October 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th of October 1941,<sup>1</sup> enclosing a demand draft on the National City Bank of New York, Bombay, for Rs. 1,000. I am extremely thankful to you for the donation as your generous contribution towards the success of our struggle in the cause of Muslim India.

As desired by you, the money will be used by me for the political uplift of Muslim India. Please convey my thanks to the friends who have subscribed together the amount. Apart from the actual amount of money which is, of course, very welcome as we have not got the support that might be forthcoming, it is very encouraging indeed that our Muslim brethren in the far-off land of Rangoon are fully alive and so sympathetic in giving whatever little help they can, spontaneously and unsolicited.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

A. M. Docrat, Esq.,  
c/o S. Dadabhoy Brothers Ltd.,  
272 Edward Street,  
Rangoon

<sup>1</sup>No. 177.

196

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah**F. 306/91-8*

19 October 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The papers report a patch-up between the [Muslim] League Ministers and [Fazlul] Huq. The text of the correspondence exchanged has been released to the press, which I am sure you have read. Nazimuddin rang me up from Darjeeling and had a six minutes talk. He wanted to know my reaction. I told him that I am not a party to the struggle between Ministers nor do I care two hoots as to who

remains and who goes out of the Cabinet. I certainly value Muslim solidarity everywhere and more so in Bengal and we can have this solidarity and maintain our old teamwork if the *casus belli* is removed. Our fight with Huq is based on his shameful letter<sup>1</sup> and unless that letter is withdrawn, there can be no peace. The President or the Working Committee or the Council are not bound to be guided by the patch-up between the Ministers who are principally concerned with the protection of their seats in the Cabinet. So, if Huq does not make amends by the 25th of this month, he may be thrown out of the League and then this patch-up will break again and there will be a proper fight. I do not know the contents of Huq's letter to Liaquat. Nothing short of a withdrawal, I hope, will satisfy the elders when they meet in Delhi. Disrespect to the head of an organisation is disrespect and insult to the organisation itself and this cannot and must not be tolerated if discipline is to be maintained. Further *Allah* will not give us a better opportunity to squeeze the neck of this spoilt child of Muslim Bengal. I am sure Huq is realising this time that he is not as strong as he used to be in his own Province. His trusted scouts have come back with this report from the interior. Had he felt himself strong then he would not have, in any circumstances, missed this chance of having a merciless crack at you and the League.

[Huseyn] Shaheed [Suhrawardy] went straight to Delhi to attend the Price Control Conference. I am sure he will see you well ahead of the 26th to coax you to accept any odd letter that Huq writes to Liaquat as satisfactory and to bury the hatchet. Please do not yield. I have written to him<sup>2</sup> and to Nazimuddin<sup>3</sup> today that unless Huq apologises and withdraws his letter there cannot be peace, and that we cannot and will not accept any settlement short of it. It is reported that a Provincial Working Committee meeting is to be called on Monday or Tuesday to consider the letters exchanged between the Ministers in Darjeeling and perhaps to endorse the settlement so that they may force the hands of the President to accept the settlement as an *amende honorable* by the Chief Minister. In my letter to them I have told them that I consider such a meeting totally unnecessary unless, of course, Mr. Huq withdraws his letter of the 8th September before the Working Committee meets, for there can be no confirmation or endorsement until the cause of the war is first removed.

Sir Hassan Suhrawardy is here. He is doing all he can to get Huq [to] withdraw his letter in clear and unequivocal language. He is also trying to get Huq to go to Delhi. Of course, Huq has issued an appeal to the Bengal members of the Council to muster strong in

Delhi. This he thinks will reinstate him in the heart of Muslim Bengal.

However, I shall leave for Delhi on the 24th or on the 25th. I shall give you a full report. Before I close I shall repeat my request. Do not yield on the question of withdrawal of the letter. Tell Shaheed that nothing short of a withdrawal can satisfy. If you are firm, Huq will yield positively. I have a hunch that Shaheed has been delegated with the power of explaining things to you and of appeasing you.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

PS. Brother Ahmed [Ispahani] will see you on Tuesday. Please read the leading article of the *Star of India*, Calcutta edition, 18th or dak edition, 19th October 1941, under the caption *Reconciliation*.

HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>See No. 117, note 1.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosure I.

<sup>3</sup>Enclosure 2.

*Enclosure 1*

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to H. S. Suhrawardy*

PERSONAL

CALCUTTA,  
18 October 1941

My dear Shaheed,

The Associated Press reports of the compromise arrived at between you people and Huq do not clear the most important point in dispute. The fight is not between us and Huq but between Huq and the All India Muslim League and the *casus belli* is the letter of Huq to Liaquat Ali. If there is to be peace, that letter must be withdrawn and unless it is withdrawn, in my opinion, no meeting of the Provincial League Working Committee, which is reported in the press today, should be called. We will not help ■ solution if we compromise the position of the League any further. Please, therefore, be careful in any steps that you may be contemplating to take.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. H. ISPAHANI

Mr. H. Shaheed Suhrawardy,  
3 Wellesley 1st Lane,  
Calcutta

*Enclosure 2**M. A. Hassan Ispahani to Khwaja Nazimuddin*

PERSONAL

CALCUTTA,  
18 October 1941

My dear Sir Nazimuddin,

Your [telephone] talk of six minutes from Darjeeling has left me rather worried because you feel that a settlement between Fazlul Huq and the League Members of the Cabinet will be considered to be satisfactory by Mr. Jinnah and the Members of the Council. I am afraid you are much too optimistic if Mr. Huq has not withdrawn his letter of September 8. The withdrawal of this letter must be made before the reported meeting of the Provincial Muslim League Working Committee in Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,  
HASSAN

197

*Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah**SHC, Hyderabad II/32*BEGUM BAZAAR,  
HYDERABAD,  
20 October 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Subsequent upon [sic for to] the return, from you, of my special messenger, I have tendered a renouncement of my *Jamedari* and all the honours associated with it. I had submitted my renouncement directly to 'Aala Hazrat instead of sending it through proper channel. The next day, a *Firman* was issued to the press by 'Aala Hazrat in which, besides praising me, he has announced that his Government would defer [sic] upon it and that I ought not [to] rush the matter hastily. He has also stated that he does not like these honours being reclaimed from me without definite cause for the same. As far as I know, he has forwarded my renouncement for deliberation to the Executive Council who, most probably, will take up the question after the 'Id.

The news of my renouncement from [sic for of] these honours has had a pleasant effect among the general public; and those feelings



of doubt which had resulted from my apology, in pursuance of your instructions, have also been much suppressed.

The orders regarding the *Maashdaran* have not been withdrawn, yet. Three or four days back, ■ deputation on behalf of the Jagirdars' Association waited upon the President of the Council in this connection. Highly urging [sic] demands are being pushed forward by the *Maashdaran* from all corners of the Dominion. It is hoped that the Government may reconsider their orders after the 'Id.

I seek to be benefited by your advice on a problem: our Government had already prohibited persons in Government service from taking any part in active politics or political organisations. Now, orders have been issued prohibiting them from even attending political gatherings and meetings or conferences of political organisations. I shall feel much obliged if you will kindly let me know whether, in British India, the prohibition of Government servants from participating in political movements implies that they must not attend even the general meetings or open conferences of any political organisation. I may kindly be advised whether I should agitate against these orders or just neglect them altogether.

I hope that your health has much improved by now. I do not know if, after all, you tried the *Unani* medicine. I am very sorry to inform you that the prescription for Miss Jinnah is not ready as yet; but within this week, God willing, I may be able to send the medicine for her use. Besides, the season is not suited for the use of this medicine, for it is to be taken during the winter only. I am trying to snatch some time to go over to Delhi, and if I can I shall have the pleasure of meeting you. This may reach you about the 'Id. Please accept heartiest greetings for a most happy 'Id.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

198

*Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, C.P. & Berar I/73*

BURHANPUR,  
20 October 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your kind letter<sup>1</sup> in reply to mine.<sup>2</sup>

I only beg to remind you that you were pleased to write to the Defence Secretary [about] the proposals of the Musalmans of Burhanpur to restore [to] them the land in front of the 'Idgah. Since then nothing has been done in the matter. We are, of course, not in any direct correspondence with the Defence Secretary<sup>3</sup> on the subject.

My request is that you will now please remind Mr. Ogilvie about the subject matter when you shortly go to Delhi for the Assembly session, and I am confident that it shall carry much weight with the gentleman and the Government of India.

The land is badly required for 'Id prayers owing to the increased number of population for the last several years, and it was formerly ■ part of the 'Idgah land.

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMED ASGHAR

<sup>1&2</sup>See SHC, CP & Berar I/71-2. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>C. M. G. Ogilvie, ICS.

## 199

*Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 392/58*

9 GARIAHAT ROAD,  
CALCUTTA,  
22 October 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I did not write to you so long because Hassan Ispahani was in communication with you and kept you posted with the latest information, and as I was in touch with him and everything was being done in consultation with him, I naturally concluded that you are being kept informed.<sup>1</sup>

You must have seen in the papers the resolutions that have been passed by the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League on the 20th instant. As I am coming to Delhi I propose to see you as soon as I arrive to tell you all about it. Most likely we will be travelling by Toofan Express and expect to reach Delhi in the afternoon of the 25th. We will be obliged if you will kindly reserve for us an hour between 9:30 and 10:30. If you are previously booked then please send me a message at Sir Abdur Rahim's house to let me

know if 7:30 to 8:30 will be more convenient to you.

The following persons are fairly certain to attend the meeting:

1. H. S. Suhrawardy
2. Tamizuddin Khan
3. Shahabuddin
4. Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Khwaja Habibullah, and a fairly strong contingent of members of the Council.

Yours sincerely,  
K. NAZIMUDDIN

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah had asked Nazimuddin to keep him informed about the Bengal situation. See F. 392/57, QAP. Not printed.

## 200

*Appeal<sup>1</sup> by Narsinghpur District Muslim League  
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah & Others)*

SHC (1633)

NARSINGHPUR [C.P.],  
23 October 1941

This meeting of the Muslims of Narsinghpur submits to say that His Majesty's Government has given complete religious freedom to its subjects and none has, so far, been compelled to act against his beliefs. Muslims and Hindus are given equal rights to observe their religious rights [*sic* for rites] and such should be looked upon from the same platform.

We are at a loss to understand as to how the Chief Secretary happened to pass such an order as is hurting the religious feelings of the Muslims. To stand and pay respects to the above song [*Bande Matram*] amounts to acting against the foremost teachings of Islam which ordain to bow before the Almighty alone.

This general meeting of the Muslims of Narsinghpur takes this song to be against the teachings of Islam and humbly appeals to the Government to reconsider the order of the Chief Secretary which is hurting the feelings of the Muslims of C.P. and Berar.

MOHAMMAD YUSUF KHAN  
*President, Narsinghpur Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>Addressed to the Bihar Government.

## 201

*Shafi Khalid to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

SHANKER VILLA,  
NIZAMSHAHI ROAD,  
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
24 October 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The zero hour has arrived. For the first time, after the events of 1857,<sup>2</sup> the Muslim India is passing through the most critical period of its history. Weak leadership then deprived us of our rule but spared us our lives; weak leadership now threatens our very existence. The Muslim India, young and old alike, expects that such leadership will be avoided and looks to you to give the right lead.

Sir, once again, the City of Delhi has to decide the fate of the Indian Muslims and I do hope that the blunders (disunity, treachery, and inaction) of 1857 will not be repeated. What we require at present is a bold united front, no dissenting voice, no quislings and no going back. We must be prepared to suffer for our ideals, even inviting imprisonment and the gallows. The Hindus and the British should be spoken to in the only language they understand.

The international situation being such what [*sic* for as] it is, they cannot dare to ignore a united stand by us and sooner or later are sure to come to you on bended knees. If they don't, well the young Islam [*sic*] knows how to discharge its duty. I assure you that we are prepared to go the full length with you and obey your commands whatever these might be.

Forward then, dear Quaid-i-Azam,<sup>3</sup> with a stout [and] resolute heart, and lead us as you have always led us with courage and determination, and the 'promised land' will be ours!

Let our watchword be 'No surrender'.

Always at your beck and call,

Yours in fraternity,  
SHAFI KHALID

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 309-10.

<sup>2</sup>Refers to the War of Independence of 1857.

<sup>3</sup>Jinnah urged patience, while thanking him for his support. See Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 22.



## 202

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammed Asghar*

*SHC, C.P. & Berar I/74*

NEW DELHI,  
24 October 1941

Dear Mr. Asghar,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th instant.<sup>1</sup> It is perfectly correct that I took the initiative of moving the idea that it would be much better that the land adjoining the 'Idgah, which I understood was originally a part of the 'Idgah property, should be given back to the 'Idgah Trustees; for it will avoid in future any misunderstanding that might unfortunately occur and cause serious trouble. The Defence Secretary showed his willingness to consider the matter but surely the Trustees of 'Idgah should pursue the matter now and take it up with the Defence Department and strengthen my hands for the proposal.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Mohammed Asghar, Esq.,  
Burhanpur

<sup>1</sup>No. 198.

## 203

*Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 296/25-6*

HASNAIN MANZIL,  
GAYA,  
24 October 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am laid up with renal colic, so am unable to attend the meetings of our Working Committee and the Council. You alone, as the captain of the Muslims, have to steer our heavy ship to safe anchors at the dockyard of solidarity and success. We have great good luck in having you at the helm, with God above to guide you. The Bengal tangle

requires careful handling. We cannot waste our time in fault-finding and laying it at any one's door. Our sincere endeavour ought to be directed to find[ing] a solution, which may bar the disunion amongst the components of Bengal Cabinet and the Leaguers. This makes it imperative that the present and the future alone should be our main concern.

The war situation also invites further clarification. Ours should not be a tame policy but the Muslim interests and Govt.'s Hinduphile tendencies too ought not be overlooked.

With regard to Bihar, I am afraid the Executive has not organised the Province for civil disobedience, hence it is not fit that the Working Committee should give them permission or refuse it. The Executive should be asked to organise and then apply.

In the Central Legislature too, we have to demonstrate our resentment at the non-co-operation of the Govt. of India. You have to keep the banner of traditional good name and rationalism of the League flying at full mast.

With best wishes and respects,

I remain,  
Yours sincerely,  
HOSSAIN IMAM

## 204

*M. A. Jinnah to J. C. Dixit<sup>1</sup>*

NEW DELHI,  
24 October 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th instant<sup>2</sup> and while I thank you for the honour you have done to me by inviting me to your conference, which is to take place on the 29th and 30th of this month, I regret to say that my previous commitments do not allow me to accept your kind invitation.

May I point out most respectfully that the latter part of your letter is rather contradictory when you say, "it is we who have no communal problem before us" but in the next sentence you say, "we are also organising a Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference". The sooner it is realised that the communal problem is there and has defied solution so far, the better it will be for the progress and welfare of the various

communities concerned and for the two main nations that exist today in this country, viz. Hindus and Muslims.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

J.C. Dixit, Esq.,  
Lucknow

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 17.

<sup>2</sup>No. 192.

## 205

*Farid Ahmad Chowdhury to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Bengal 1/22*

CHITTAGONG,  
28 October 1941

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith for your information a true copy of the threatening letter to me from the President, Bengal Provincial Muslim League, Calcutta, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, along with a copy of the resolutions<sup>1</sup> in question. I feel I should have your instruction as to the advisability of releasing the said letter to the press with comments thereon. Also I would like to invite a reference to the appeal lying with the All India Muslim League pending a decision, preferred by the outgoing District Muslim League, Chittagong, against the affiliation of the newly-constituted League, vide the Provincial League's letter under the signature of the Secretary, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy.<sup>2</sup>

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
F. A. CHOWDHURY

*President, Chittagong District Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>Resolution Nos. 5, 6 & 7 dated 8 October 1941, SHC, Bengal I/24. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 211.

*Enclosure**A. K. Fazlul Huq to Farid Ahmad Chowdhury**SHC, Bengal 1/23*CALCUTTA,  
23 October 1941

Dear Sir,

I have received a copy of your resolutions<sup>1</sup> passed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of your District Muslim League, dated 8.10.1941. The first comment I wish to make is this that it is evident that the resolutions have been inspired by somebody from outside. They have a family likeness with the resolutions which I have received from some other parts of Bengal. Permit me to point out that I have a greater claim on your loyalty than your Quaid-i-Azam or leaders from outside. It is I who always stood by you and who have done for you what no Quaid-i-Azam has ever done for you. It is, therefore, most insulting that you should send me a copy of these resolutions. Please remember that I am not going to withdraw that letter<sup>2</sup> which I wrote to the Secretary [Liaquat Ali Khan]. It is a monstrous lie to suggest that I cast unmerited aspersions on Mr. Jinnah. I am ready to maintain that all the criticisms I have made are well-justified; however, I am keeping a copy of your resolutions. Permit me to point out that I am still the President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and I can call upon you to withdraw your impertinent remarks. If necessary, I can take disciplinary action against the whole of your resolutions and shall wait and see how far your Quaid-i-Azam comes to help you when you are in difficulty in [the] future.

Yours truly,  
A. K. FAZLUL HUQ<sup>1</sup>See No. 205, note 1.<sup>2</sup>See No. 117, note 1.



## 206

*M. A. Jinnah to the Editor, The Spirit of Youth*<sup>1</sup>

NEW DELHI,  
1 November 1941

I am very glad to learn that you have started a monthly journal, *The Spirit of Youth*, from Lucknow that will ventilate the feelings and sentiments of our young men.

I hope that *The Spirit of Youth* will not only advocate the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League faithfully and fearlessly but will also provide a scope for those of our young men who wish to take up journalism as their career—a want which is vigorously felt among the Musalmans of India.

I wish you all success,

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

The Editor,  
*The Spirit of Youth*,  
Lucknow

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 18.

## 207

*S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 304/119

PATNA,  
3 November 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing this personal letter to you in my bad handwriting so that not even my stenographer may know its contents. I write to express my humble gratitude to you for the opportunity you so kindly afforded to me to frankly discuss and remove many ill-founded misunderstandings. I express my grateful appreciation to you for the very kind and cordial manner in which you had given me some advice at our meeting on the 30th October last at your house. I feel greatly relieved that we have taken leave

of each other as best friends. Let me assure you, if assurance is at all necessary after what I have so candidly explained to you, that my nature and character is never to exaggerate or enter into flattery nor to indulge in either. I feel what I say and so rest assured that nothing will now happen to cause you the least complaint. There never had been any intention to show the least disrespect. If anything was done it was pure accident. No motive, no disrespect. I have now learnt at my cost to be more cautious and more careful. Human being is fallible and if I have erred, it was never deliberate. I have worked with endurance even when Aziz<sup>1</sup> was President and shall continue to do so as long as I am required to do. I do not care for reward. My *Allah*, His *Rasool* and our twelve most immaculate *Imams* know what I am doing and at what sacrifice. I have no guilty conscience. You are a shrewd observer of men and you know best. In Bihar, we have many with ambitions, anxious to capture Head Office, but less scruple to go about facing enemies. During the last Bihar Sharif riots, perhaps, had it not been for me, the riots would have spread still far and wide. Those who intrigue against me only carry tales to discredit me with [an] array of serious accusations. However, my *Allah* knows and I believe in Him and expect justice and reward from Him through the divine blessings of His pure and immaculate *Rasool*, our Lady of Light and Hazrat Ali and his descendents. I hope you will have no further cause to feel aggrieved.

With best wishes for your life and health,

S. M. ISMAIL

PS. May I suggest to you to send me in writing the principles of Pakistan which you had explained in our conference, if no objection.

<sup>1</sup>Mian Abdul Aziz, President AIML Session (Aziz Group), Howrah, 21 October 1933.

## 208

*Liaquat Ali Khan to the Presidents & Honorary Secretaries of Provincial Muslim Leagues*

F. 826/156-60

4 November 1941

Dear Sir,

I enclose a copy of the minutes<sup>1</sup> of the consultative meeting of the Provincial Presidents and Secretaries for your information in the hope that you will make the decisions reached at this

meeting known to all the members of your provincial council and to the district organisations to enable them to know what the Centre proposes to do and what co-operation is expected of them to carry out the programme outlined in the scheme referred to in the proceedings above. The following details will give an idea of the manner in which the work has to be done. I shall be thankful if you will kindly send me your replies and views para-wise within a month.

- i. The provincial organisations should stimulate and accelerate activities of the League in every district and encourage the holding of district conferences. The idea of holding district conferences on a large scale involving heavy expenditure results in discouraging useful activities on a minor scale. The districts, which cannot afford to undergo large expenses, are discouraged from holding a modest conference just necessary for a district.
- ii. A gathering of the Muslims of the district, attended by a few provincial leaders, ought to satisfy the desired scale of a district conference and if the province can succeed in creating this spirit, there are bound to be many more district conferences than at present.
- iii. As regards provincial tours, a provincial organisation ought to be able [to remain] in communication with its districts, to work out a programme of touring in the province by provincial leaders, and once it is started, I am sure the districts will not only welcome it and bear the expenses of necessary arrangements for public meetings within their respective jurisdictions but will also contribute small sums to defray the travelling expenses involved in this connection. These tours will, besides going a long way towards educating public opinion in matters of political importance, also lay the foundation for useful constructive work and help in finding ways and means for raising funds for the League. All this depends upon the right choice of persons for touring the provinces. I am sure the provincial organisations realizing the potentialities of the tours would make an earnest effort to start it as soon as possible, making it a point to arrange that the proceedings of the tour are widely published at least in the Urdu press throughout India. The training in each province of a sufficient number of propagandists is an indispensable necessity and it is hoped that the provinces will make a modest start and see that these propagandists as well as provincial leaders



and speakers confine themselves in their speeches to the authenticated League viewpoint. The Centre will also organise a tour of the different provinces and this will further augment the result of the provincial tours. These tours arranged by the provinces and the Centre will also help in the enlistment of primary members of the Muslim League and will also be an inducement to the youth to join the Muslim National Guards.

- iv. As regards the *Dawn*, a long-felt want has now been fulfilled by the English weekly, recently started. This venture is really a stepping-stone for a first class English daily and it is now up to the Muslims themselves to support and encourage it. It would be a pity if so many sympathisers of the *Dawn* spread all over India in the shape of Provincial, District and Primary Leagues fail to make it capable of becoming a first class daily paper within a year or two, and it is up to the provincial organisations to make a genuine and earnest effort to make it a grand success.
- v. As regards the *Manshoor*, the official organ of the Muslim League, about which it was agreed to make it a matter of discipline that every District and Primary League and every member of the Provincial Council should be its permanent subscriber. It may be borne in mind that for the present it is the only available source of creating a unity of purpose and if the provinces and the districts make a hearty effort to get it widely circulated and read, it will, in the course of a very short time, create an atmosphere favourable for achieving our goal and be a power to be reckoned with. I also intend to make the *Manshoor* a regular channel for the communication of timely and necessary instructions to all the workers and branches of the League throughout India which will greatly minimize the work of the Provincial and District Leagues of communicating to their respective branches the instructions given by the Centre and facilitate the prompt receipt of instructions by all concerned and save postage. But this can only be accomplished when the above suggestions are faithfully carried out. We are passing through very critical times and I hope the provinces will realise the full importance and necessity of making this channel of communication accessible to the remotest place.
- vi. As regards cheap authentic literature, the Centre will arrange to issue tracts once a month commencing from January next year. These tracts will cost rupees fifty per thousand and



will be supplied to provinces by V.P.P. along with three copies of invoices, one to be retained in the province and the other two to be signed and sent—one direct to the printers who will supply and the other to the Central office for reference. I request you to let me know the number you would require for the use of your province. The province would be at liberty to distribute them free to its districts or to realise the price. A few copies of these tracts must remain in the provincial office and at least one in each of the District and Primary Leagues. The reading rooms and libraries in the province should be supplied with these tracts. I think each province should take at least 500 copies to start with and twenty-five rupees per month is not a very big expense for useful propaganda in a province. In those provinces, however, where Urdu tracts will have to be reprinted in some other language for wider publication, a smaller number may be indented for.

- vii. As regards the inspection of the provincial offices and the audit of their accounts, I enclose separate directions<sup>2</sup> for the maintenance of necessary register and the upkeep of the correct accounts, and I request you kindly to let me know when you would be able to bring your office work and accounts in compliance with the said directions so that I may arrange for the inspection of your office and for the audit of your accounts.
- viii. As regards the uniformity in the constitution of all the Provincial Muslim Leagues, I shall shortly send you the necessary notes.
- ix. The problem of the Muslim National Guards and the shortage of funds had been touched by every province in its reply to the questionnaire sent by me and was further ventilated in the meeting, and the observations and experiences of all the provinces appeared to lead to unanimous conclusions. I, therefore, deal with the two subjects one by one.
  - a. As regards Muslim National Guards, it is true that there exists a sort of hindrance from the Government to the parading of uniformed guardsmen. In this respect it must be borne in mind that the League does not intend to train these guardsmen for any regular military purpose and to arm them. The uniform was intended to give them a uniformity of dress and only the preliminaries of the military formation parade were sought to be taught to facilitate the regulations of their movements. The main purpose of enlisting and training these guardsmen was to create in them a spirit

of service and sacrifice, and to make them a disciplined body of enthusiastic selfless workers for the social, economic and political uplift of the masses. The chief obstacle in our way of recruiting and training our youth is not, therefore, the hindrance by the Government but the lack of proper men to attract the youth and to train them morally and physically and to imbibe in them a fiery spirit of service to humanity, and till such time as suitable men are available the provinces would do well to encourage the Districts [Muslim League] to recruit as many young men as possible to teach them a code of morals to engage them in beneficial activities like the spread of literacy and keep them attached to the League by providing for them healthy sports and games and by distributing cheap medals to those who distinguish themselves.

- b. As regards funds the question of having a general fund is receiving my serious consideration and will form the main subject of our discussion when we meet next. For the present we have to carry on as best as we can by making a drive for enlisting ten per cent of the Muslim population and by local donations.
- x. With a view to attracting the Muslims, the Provincial League will do well to introduce such items of constructive programme as may be suitable for the different localities—a copy of the programme passed by the All India Muslim League is enclosed<sup>3</sup> for ready reference.
- xi. I would also suggest that the holding of district and provincial conferences should be made a source of income as well by levying an admission fee for visitors. In the case of provincial conferences, the fee of the Reception Committee membership and donations should ordinarily go to defray the expenses of the conference and the delegate fee together with the sale proceeds of the visitor tickets should go to the provincial coffers.
- xii. The necessity of being able to engage whole-time paid workers and propagandists is under my consideration and we will discuss it when we meet next.
- xiii. I enclose<sup>4</sup> a form of report which must be sent to me without fail on the 5th of each month.

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

<sup>1&2</sup>Dated 28 October 1941. See F. 826/161-2 & 163-4, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>See Resolution No. 5 passed by AIML Council on 23 February 1941, AFM 263/73-4. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>F. 826/165, QAP. Not printed.

209

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani**F. 310/14-5*NEW DELHI,  
8 November 1941

Dear Mr. Ahmad,

I was very pleased and encouraged by our conversation in Delhi on the 21st of October and it was really very kind of you to have stayed on in Delhi to meet me. As a result of our conversation I understood that you would speak to Sir Adamjee and let me know the result of your talk with him. I don't know exactly how the matter stands regarding the future of the *Star of India*. But Mr. [Pothan] Joseph wired to me that he was arriving in Delhi and I have had a talk with him and I gathered that you desired that I should write to Sir Adamjee. Accordingly, I am going to write to him today. But one thing is certain and I appeal to you that you must keep up the *Star of India* at any sacrifice, and I hope that I will be able to get to Calcutta, and then we can put our heads together to stabilize the paper permanently. I have fully explained to Mr. Joseph and he will tell you in detail my conversation with him. Please write to me and let me know as soon as possible and remove the uncertainty and doubt that overshadows the *Star of India* and at least manage to contribute to it for one year, and during that time I feel confident that we shall be able to frame a scheme for its future. Please do write to me and explain how the matter stands.

Hoping you are well, with kindest regards to you and your family,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAHAhmad Ispahani, Esq.,  
5 Camac Street,  
Calcutta

## 210

*Fatma Begum to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1118/33-4*

MULTAN ROAD,  
NAWANKOTE, LAHORE,  
10 November 1941

My dear Mohammad Ali,

I desire to seek your advice about a few matters relating to Jinnah Islamia College for Girls and the advisability of taking over the charge of the *Eastern Times* of Lahore.

I may say something at once about this latter affair. The present proprietors of the *Eastern Times* are getting rid of the paper. They have approached me to take it up. I will not be able to do so without help.

The Province needs a paper which should advocate the Muslim League. I am afraid that it will take some time for it to establish itself and it is during this time that I anticipate some difficulties from the political parties which are now in power here.

Besides, I will not be able to sink all the money needed for this purpose. My humble contribution will be small and I naturally look towards the Muslim League to come to my rescue.

I do not know the arrangement made about the *Dawn* at Delhi, but you will agree with me that Punjab also needs a paper of its own.

I expect a reply<sup>1</sup> soon and will be glad to know the date and time when I may see you in Delhi. Moreover, I wish to make an effort to put some life in [to] the Punjab Muslim League and for this I want to have your mental and moral help. I shall have to awaken the masses.

Yours truly,  
FATMA BEGUM  
[Principal,]  
*Jinnah Islamia College*

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah agreed to see her but regretted that the League could not provide her financial assistance. See F. 1099/38, QAP. Not printed.



## 211

*M. A. Jinnah to Farid Ahmad Chowdhury*

*SHC, Bengal I/25*

NEW DELHI,  
11 November 1941

Dear Sir,

I thank you for sending me, for my information, the threatening letter, dated the 23rd of October,<sup>1</sup> that you have received from the President, Bengal Provincial Muslim League, Mr. Fazlul Huq, along with copies of the resolutions<sup>2</sup> which were passed by the District Muslim League, Chittagong.

I have no objection to your releasing the said letter to the press in such manner as you may think proper.

I shall feel obliged if you will let me have the original by registered post and also send its copies to Sir Nazimuddin and Mr. [Huseyn] Shaheed Suhrawardy. I need hardly say that it will receive my very careful consideration as its impropriety is obvious.

With regard to your appeal referred to in your letter, it will no doubt be dealt with by the Secretary of the All India Muslim League.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Farid Ahmad Chowdhury, Esq.,  
Chittagong

<sup>1</sup>Enclosure to No. 205.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 205, note 1.

## 212

*Abdur Rahman Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, CP & Berar I/77*

KHAMGAON,  
BERAR,  
11 November 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a cutting from the *Times of India*.<sup>1</sup> It is not a journalist's draft but the composition of the intriguers themselves.

There appears to be another move to form the Centre with non-officials and Hindus as ■ majority.

2. When I and Mr. Ramphal met Dr. [E. Raghavendra] Rao in Delhi we happened to meet Pannalal, U. P. Adviser and Sir Jagdish [Prasad]. They were asking him to accompany them to Allahabad to confer with Sir Tej [Bahadur Sapru].

3. Then his P[ersonal] Assistant, Mr. Venkatraman (who is also a C.P. man), told us that Dr. Rao is preparing a scheme of constitution in consultation with Sir Tej and is going to see all the Congress leaders, including Gandhi.

4. Dr. Rao told us that he is here in India to give a constitution and not to face Mr. Jinnah and decry the Congress and, therefore, he changed his seat from the Central Assembly to the Council of State.

5. Dr. Rao has the confidence of Dr. [B. S.] Moonje and [V. D.] Savarkar and is a great favourite of Hindu Mahasabha people.

6. I think while the Viceroy's Council is full of Hindu intriguers, like Rao, [Dr. M. S.] Aney, [Nalini Ranjan] Sarkar, the Muslims there are only men of mediocre ability and not possessing the confidence of any party and having no stake in the community.

7. I only pray God may give you<sup>2</sup> strength to face this new danger.

Yours sincerely,  
ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN  
MLA

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah promised to consider the points he had mentioned. See SHC, C.P. & Berar I/79. Not printed.

## 213

*M. I. Rabbani to M. H. Saiyid*

*F. 769/241-8*

THE QUADRANGLE,  
GOVERNMENT COLLEGE,  
LAHORE,  
12 November 1941

My dear Matloob Sahib,

I hope you must have placed my previous letter<sup>1</sup> before Quaid-i-Azam Sahib. I am expecting an early and favourable reply from him.

Three days back, I personally went to [Abdussattar Khan] Niazi's place for a compromise. Chishti was also there, and I was accompanied by Messrs. Z. K. Malik, Mahmud Nizami and others. After a good deal of unhealthy discussion, we settled down to effect a compromise. I asked them what they wanted. They said that the other party (rebels) wanted offices. We say it [is] a lust for power while they claim a voice in the Working Committee.

Their final and last conditions for a compromise are:

- a. Mirza Abdul Hamid should be the President of *Sho'ba-e-Islamyat* at all costs.
- b. If the President be from 'our' party, then the rest of the office-holders should be from 'their' party. If it be 'their' President, then the rest of the office-holders should be from 'our' party. In all cases, half [of] the total in the Working Committee and the Council should be from 'their' party and the other half from 'our' party in order to keep the balance.

It means that they want offices and nothing else. In other words, they want full control over the policy of the [Muslim Students] Federation and [that] there should be no check on irresponsible acts by them. In fact Chishti and Niazi want to hold the reins of the Federation in their own hands.

Our people definitely do not want a compromise on the basis of sharing offices. How can half of the offices be handed over to 20 persons against 539? If tomorrow I form a separate Federation, will these people be prepared to concede half of the offices to me? It is quite probable that I may have 20 followers.

Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din has agreed to an extent to become our President. We may even be required to run our Federation in the teeth of opposition. Even Mian [Bashir Ahmad] Sahib is of the opinion that we should make a compromise on a solid basis and accept valid grievances but not for sharing offices. Khalifa Sahib says that he would accept our presidentship but first he would try for a compromise with all the Punjab people.

All Punjab [Muslim Students Federation] is holding the Muslim History Congress and Khalifa Sahib is the President of the Reception Committee. We are willing to have a compromise with them provided they declare faith in our Quaid-i-Azam. I am confident that they, being Ahraris, Congressites and Socialists, would not agree. Hence no compromise.

I also suggested to Sattar and Chishti that we may appoint somebody to decide our case. We may educate him about our views and accept his verdict. For that I suggested Khalifa Sahib's name.

There is another funny thing that Niazi and Chishti say, [which is]



that they belong to neither party. They are the cause of all this mischief. They have been doing all this and have created these second fiddle [sic]. It was Niazi himself who had gone to newspapers for the publication [of the names] of their office-holders. They say they are superhuman and above all parties. Niazi says that he, being Joint Secretary, All India Muslim Students Federation, is above these parties and would recognise the Federation which would work better.

I say in his face that he is their leader and is responsible for all this. He is annoyed at it. He says that he can mediate but is no party. How funny it is. The next day, he brought a reply to my suggestion for arbitration. He said that they wanted Sattar Niazi or Malik Barkat Ali as the arbitrator. I rejected Niazi's name as he, being the leader of that party, could not be a judge and rejected Malik Sahib's name as they had rejected Khalifa Sahib's. They say Khalifa Sahib is our man, similarly Malik Sahib is their man. Hence the negotiations have broken down for ever and we have decided to run the Federation at all costs.

Niazi and Chishti talk of other things which would look to you strange and funny. They do not recognize our Federation. They say that Mirza Hamid had no right to hand over presidentship to Mian Sahib. Who had appointed Mian Sahib and who had nominated the Working Committee? The new constitution is not legal as it has been framed by the people who belong to ■ self-made Federation. Also, our Federation is not affiliated as we have not paid the fee as yet. We wrote to Mr. Noman [General Secretary, All India Muslim Students Federation] for affiliation, which was granted (we have many letters from him as a proof) but we were allowed to pay the money later on. In spite of that they say we are not a legal Federation.

They say Pakistan Committee, appointed in the open session, is not defunct. Similarly, I argue that the Constitution Committee, formed in the open session, should be considered legal. Accordingly, Constitution Committee framed the new Constitution and the present framework of the Federation has been functioning according to that Constitution. Hence they should deny nothing. They say that they are not aware of the formation of such a Constitution Committee in the open session. What [a] nonsense!

Niazi, I understand, has been to Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and Mr. Noman and has persuaded them to write to us to postpone the elections. They say that he has decided with them that the Federation (out of the two), functioning better on the report of Niazi, would be affiliated. If our Federation is illegal and unrecognised, then why he went to those gentlemen for the postponement of our elections? I can't believe that they could say contradictory and irresponsible things. You



can judge for yourself.

Now the position is that the two Federations would go on here and we both shall do nothing except to abuse each other. Yesterday, Niazi went round to newspapers for the publication of a long article against Mian Sahib, Khalifa Sahib and ourselves. Our men were informed about it by the newspapers; we got it cancelled and gave the one, sent herewith.<sup>2</sup>

The press, the public and the students are with us. Let us see whom does the Quaid-i-Azam and the parent body recognise. If God be with us, Niazi can do us no harm.

I understand that a Women Conference is to be held in February under the leadership of Miss Jinnah. Will you please let me know in detail about it? Also send me the literature of that organisation. I organized a Muslim Girl Students Federation here last year. They want to be affiliated with that body. With whom should they correspond? Is there any All India Muslim Girl Students Federation? Let me know the address of their organisation. Where from can I get the paper, the *Dawn*?

Kindly reply in detail and soon,

Yours sincerely,  
M. I. RABBANI

<sup>1</sup>See F. 769/233-40, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Not traced.

## 214

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/101*

51 EZRA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
12 November 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

On my way back from Lahore I spent four very pleasant days with [Mohammad] Amir [Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad] in Lucknow. I returned to Calcutta yesterday. I was in Lucknow when [Fazlul] Huq passed through it on his way to Delhi. One more effort was made by Amir and Khaliquzzaman to coax him to see reason. He said that he would see you in Delhi but would not commit himself further. He is more slippery than an eel.

Our friends in Bengal are up and doing—not for the love of the

[Muslim] League but because self-interest and self-preservation have left them without another choice. I am enclosing a circular,<sup>1</sup> issued under the signature of our quartet.

Has Huq seen you? Has [Abdur Rehman] Siddiqi, who is still in Delhi, called on you? Please let me know.

Pothan Joseph is not back from Delhi. October has shown the month's loss account [of the] *Star of India* at Rs. 3,000. This is a colossal figure. On Joseph's return, I propose to apply the pruning scissors mercilessly. Unless this is done, the *Star of India* will perish.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>See F. 306/100, QAP. Not printed.

## 215

*M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/2*

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

NEW DELHI,  
13 November 1941

Your Exalted Highness,

There is ■ strong rumour that there are vacancies in your Cabinet—one is of the Finance Minister and the other in place of Nawab Aqil Jung, who is going to retire very soon.

I am writing this letter to you in the same spirit as I have done before as your friend; and I wish to do so by way of caution so that you may not be committed in a hurry. If you will permit me, I will submit to you some names for your consideration. If any effort is made on behalf of any other person, as I believe there is a very strong move, and if you are inclined to have my opinion, I shall gladly do so. Of course, finally it is for you to decide.<sup>1</sup> At this critical moment, it is very essential to secure the services of really capable, honest and loyal servants of the State in the interest of all concerned.

I have taken the liberty of writing to you as I fear that there is going to be made ■ move in favour of a person, if my information is correct, whose appointment will be highly detrimental not only to your own interest and the Musalmans of Hyderabad but to the people of Hyderabad generally.

I do not wish to mention names because, although my information

is reliable, I am not sure of it but if you desire me to do so, I will give you all the particulars. Anyhow, I sincerely trust that Your Exalted Highness will not be in ■ hurry to commit yourself and if you desire to avail yourself of my advice and opinion, it is at your disposal as it has always been before.

Hoping you are well [and] with kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See No. 230 for Nizam's reply.

## 216

*Raziuddin to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/316-7*

FAIZ-I-AAM HIGH SCHOOL,  
MEERUT,

13 November 1941

Sir,

Some Madras Congress leaders have revealed what the Government had kept a secret, so far. You must have known by now that Allama Mashriqi is fasting in Vellore Jail. This is the only effective way of protest open to one whose just requests fall on deaf ears and whose cause—which is the nation's cause—there is none to take up.

It has always puzzled me and my many friends that while the number of seats in the Viceroy's Council can be made the major problem of Muslim politics, the [Muslim] League has not moved its little finger to ameliorate the lot of the Khaksars. We know what is happening to them and we say it is unbearable. They might have been wrong-headed but they are our brothers, and if my brother is in distress, I do not stop to take promises and assurances from him before giving him all the help I can.

I am not ■ Khaksar. I am not, in spite of all this, in favour of overlooking the injustice being done to them and their leader. Although a Muslim Leaguer, I know what the life and personality of Allama means to millions of his followers and well-wishers. If their mouths are gagged today, is it not obviously our duty to demonstrate peacefully but effectively what we feel? Shall not the Muslim leaders realise in time that by this neutral attitude they are committing the same blunder which they did commit

during the Red-Shirt agitation and left the field to be exploited by the Congress? The Khaksar tangle affects every Indian Musalman. Should we not implore, request, demand, warn and threaten the Government that now is the time to avert what is surely going to be a calamity of the first magnitude for India, for the Muslims, and for the Government itself?

Sir, you are the leader of the Muslims. A leader is not only the brain of his nation, he is [also] primarily the heart of his people. If the leader does not feel with and for his people, of what use is his statesmanship to them?

Excuse me, Sir, if I have been bitter. I have only exercised the time-honoured right of a Muslim to speak out his heart, frankly and forcefully, before his leader.

Your obedient follower,  
RAZIUDDIN  
M.A.

## 217

*Chaman Lal to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

KASHMIRI GATE,  
DELHI,  
13 November 1941

Respected Mr. Jinnah,

Knowing how busy you are, I had the courage to ask for an interview (on the phone) since I wanted to congratulate you personally on the expression of self-respect and demonstration of courage—the qualities we lack in India. How I wish your ability, your brave talented leadership and your selflessness could lead India to complete independence rather than see her divided. You know all genuine nationalists respect you and adore you for your services to the country in the past and are pained to see you urging for the division of India. I am sure you are capable of offering a better solution.

I admit the problem is very grave but the solution you propose is dangerous, impractical and suicidal.

Please excuse me for so strongly differing from your plan. I hope you will once again join hands with the Congress and lead India to



her goal. Hindus and Muslims may have two religions and a thousand sects but they are sons of the same soil and there is no doubt that we have unbreakable ties in every corner of India. I wish you had lived in my village to see how Hindus and Muslims live like brothers, even worship together at the shrine of Pir Jamali.

My second purpose in asking for an interview is to request you to give me ■ considered and authoritative statement on the communal issue so that I can incorporate it in my book, *The Common Pakistan*. Pakistan means the sacred land and nobody can deny that India is a Pakistan. I think both Hindu and Muslim leaders have become unnecessarily hysterical over the issue. They could still sit together and find a solution. What will the future generations think of the present-day politicians who have failed to rise to the occasion and maintain India's honour? In my book, I propose to make a humble attempt to present both sides of the case. I am doing it independently as humble son of the soil. I hope that you will kindly co-operate in presenting the whole question before the country.

I can have an interview with you<sup>2</sup> or you may contribute a chapter to present your view.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,  
CHAMAN LAL

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 318-20.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 222.

## 218

*Ch. Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

LUCKNOW,  
14 November 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since my return from Delhi, I was getting fever off and on, but for the last five days it ran very high. In consequence, I have become weak but in spite of it I hope to be able to attend the meeting of the Working Committee [in Delhi] on the 16th instant. Lately, every possible effort is being made by Congress group to come back to office. The British Government, as usual, is playing a dirty game. The Hindus are taking advantage of our resolution, dated the

17th June 1940,<sup>2</sup> demanding a share in the powers at the Centre and in the minority provinces. They say, ignoring our conditions laid down in the resolution, that after all the League also desires to take away as much power from the bureaucracy as possible and to that extent the cause of the Congress is common. The Viceroy, with so many of his henchmen around him, day in and day out, impress upon him the necessity of coming to a settlement with the Congress. In pursuance of the policy of appeasement, the release of political prisoners have [*sic* for has] already begun. Gandhi will keep his stern attitude intact but the others will play a different role. The Viceroy will be told that it will be a great feat of strategy if a schism in the Congress ranks is brought about by allowing those Congressmen who want to resume parliamentary activities [*sic*]; and there is every fear that he may be led to agree to it by astute Mahratta leader Mr. [M. S.] Aney. When some such settlement is made between the Congress parliamentarians and the British Government, we shall be offered to accept [*sic*] a seat here and a seat there just to keep our mouths shut. I have been groaning under this load even during my illness. I have come to the conclusion that a definite and clear move from our side is necessary to stop this rot. I have drafted a resolution for your consideration. As it deals with a most serious question, facing the Muslim community at the present juncture, I have no mind to move it in the Working Committee unless you consider that there is something in it and that time has come when we should warn the Government that if it enters into any private settlement with the Congress and allows them to come back to office at the Centre or in the minority provinces, the responsibility for that action will be entirely theirs. We have kept the offer open now for over one and a half years. It has not been accepted nor there is any likelihood of its being accepted. Why should we not then withdraw it and demonstrate to our people that in a common Centre there is no room for an honourable place for the Muslims?

Yours sincerely,  
KHALIQUZZAMAN

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 321-3.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 323, *JP*, XV, 441-7.

219

*Ahmed Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/319*

22 S.S. EAST,  
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH,  
15 November 1941

My dear Sir,

The sensational and shocking news of Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi's fast unto death has overtaken the Muslim India like a storm. A wave of gloom and despondency has spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. The Musalmans, especially the youth, are overwhelmed with grief and fear since the unhappy news first came.

We were waiting here impatiently to hear the majestic voice of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam but, alas, our expectations have not been realised so far.

We had to pass [through] very anxious moments, even sleepless hours, but to our great disappointment we could find no statement from our dear Quaid-i-Azam.

We were further grieved to see Mr. Gandhi send a message to Jai Prakash Narain for giving up his hunger strike (*The Hindustan Times*, November 14, 1941) but our revered Quaid-i-Azam is not asking the Allama to give up his fast, which has been started [*sic* for continuing] since 16th October and is likely to prove disastrous at any moment. Being confronted with a grave situation, we strongly appeal to you, Sir, to intervene in the matter immediately at this critical juncture, make a strong request to the Government to release Allama, and pass a resolution to that effect at tomorrow's meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

Sir, you are today the accredited and acknowledged leader of Muslim India and it is but natural for us to look forward [*sic* for up] to you [for] advice and guidance and expect all that you can do to avert the catastrophic results.

We love Allama as deeply as we love and respect you. His life is dearer and more valuable to us than it is to him. Consequently, we can never allow him to play with his life in his own way.

Having full faith and confidence in you, we fervently hope that you will come to our rescue to save us from this great calamity in

time. We believe, you will not like to see the sons of your nation let [themselves] loose, do things desperately and resort to ways and means [sic] without your suggestion.

The question before us is what we, as Muslims, should do at a moment when the life of a great Muslim stands in danger.

Awaiting your consolatory and soothing reply by return post,

I am, Sir,

Yours fraternally,

AHMED KHAN

M.A., LL.B. (Final)

## 220

*Fazil Mooraj to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/141-2*

ADEN LODGE,  
CUMBALA HILL,  
BOMBAY,

15 November 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just received the enclosed letter from Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy,<sup>1</sup> who is in London. I suppose the High Commissioner he refers to is Sir Firoz Khan Noon.

You [might] have read in the papers some remarks about your alleged correspondence with members of Parliament. I wonder if that had any connection with Sir Fazalbhoy's action. In my correspondence with Sir Fazalbhoy there was no mention of your name or of anybody else. I may inform you that I sent him two notes and some pamphlets.

Is the Congress likely to come to power again, and if it does, are the Muslims to suffer again as they did during its past regimes?

If the Congress (Hindus) give up *Satyagraha*, are the Muslims to be dubbed the sole obstructionists? Surely, the Muslim League is not opposed to the war against Hitler and his atrocities. Can you not make up your mind to publish the Muslim League's attitude towards the war itself? Will ■ resolution, something like the following, be detrimental to the interests of the Muslims and their League?

That while emphatically asserting its disapproval of the attitude of the British Govt. in its neglect of the Muslim



League's demand for Pakistan, the only possible solution of the existing communal tangle and for establishing permanent peace and prosperity in this vast continent of India, and in keeping the recognised body of the Muslims aloof from the administration of the country in general and from matters connected with the present war in particular, wherein all available Indian resources of men and material are being fully utilised, thereby giving ample proof of the British Govt.'s adherence to its ever-existing imperialistic policy, the Muslim League assures that it has at no time declared itself opposed to the prosecution of the war against Hitler and his comrades-at-arms and against their monstrous atrocities and their massacre of peaceful and peace-loving nations, and that the Muslim League has never endeavoured to influence the Muslims against joining the ranks fighting Hitler or for causing any obstruction to the British Govt. in their endeavour to crush the brutal enemies of world peace and prosperity out of their lust for world power.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
FAZIL MOORAJ

<sup>1</sup>F. 1092/132-3, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 241 for Jinnah's reply.

## 221

*A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 256/123-4*

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

SADAR HOUSE,  
SURAT,

15 November 1941

My dear Jinnah,

In your statement to the Assembly<sup>1</sup> before the Muslim League Party's walk-out, you made a strong point of one thing in particular, and that was to ask the Members of the Assembly in the House and the world outside not to misrepresent or misunderstand the true intentions of the Muslim League. I make the same request, almost in your own words, while writing this letter to you. Please try to understand what it actually means.

I have been thinking over the object of this letter for some days now and was feeling diffident whether I should write it or not. At

last, this morning something in me urges me to write it. My diffidence was due to only one reason, that nothing, right or wrong, from me should irritate you. Irritation might have two results—one, of upsetting you unnecessarily, even though temporarily, and the other, of misreading a character such as mine. Well, I shall venture this letter, for I have always held it as a matter of duty in life so long as I honestly believe in following a lead, to place thoughts that occur to me loyally and faithfully before him who leads, for whatever use and value he may have for them.

Coming to the object of this letter, what I wish to convey to you is this: your digs, both at the Viceroy and Sapru, must rebound and have their repercussions. Lawyers, better than others, know well what the likely results of actions are. Both the digs, as I call them, were the result of provocation and impulse, particularly in the case of the Viceroy. What provocation could be greater than the one given by the Viceroy, who took the cue for the expansion of the Council from you, if I do not forget facts, and ignored the League when it came to putting into action the inspiration given by the League. As to the bungle regarding Sikander, I think only the Viceroy and Sikander know the secrets of it. Your dig, under such extreme provocation, was, however, if I may express myself frankly, not on the side of discretion or statesmanship. It must have cut him to the quick, I am sure. I know what it is to leave a tiger wounded. Political India is progressing fairly and so is the League, let us hope. But you need hardly be told—in fact it is no news to you—that not even the most advanced and premier political party can yet afford to snap its fingers at the Viceroy, constituted as he is. Anything passing between you and the Viceroy cannot be taken to signify that it is an ordinary passage-at-arms between two individuals. No, anything that happens between the two is an occurrence of the highest import between two constituted bodies and their leaders, who carry on their shoulders heavy and serious responsibilities of nations, the one constituted as the Muslim Nation's League—you representing it—and the other, the British Government—the Viceroy representing it. I must clarify further what I mean. You have a definite mission on our behalf to carry through—a definite and a clear-cut objective to be achieved—and, therefore, a leader in that position, as you certainly are, cannot afford, nor can be allowed, to strike out as an outlaw and get into the spirit of "damn and don't care". I fear, perhaps rightly, that this wounded tiger, possessed of all the earthly powers that he does, as the head of ■ powerful Government, may create spiteful reactions, which may undo and unsettle our programme, which, I am sure,

must be clear in your mind. I hope you are straining every nerve to put your political sagacity to test, as how to counteract a possible harm that may be caused to the aims of the League—not only counteract, but also to achieve. Give a lead in this respect at least to those of your followers in whom you have implicit trust.

Do you remember my words said in the Working Committee at Delhi on the question of the attitude of the League towards war efforts etc. on which we then passed a resolution at that meeting—I mean my words, “As long as Sikander is *hayat* (alive) and with the Viceroy in the matter of helping the war, the Viceroy can well-afford to belittle the policy of the League.” Do you also remember my asking you once late at night at your bungalow in Bombay, whether you and Sikander giving a hearty embrace to each other while parting after the Working Committee meeting meant that he bottled you or you bottled him, and you assured me by quoting a sentence from Gunther, that you know the man. I, however, believe you were not able, perhaps for some good reasons best known to you, to act according to the saying in Persian, “Strike [*sic* for kill] the cat the first day”. I do not know what measures you have contemplated upon to guard against the developments of that friend of ours, and indeed developments he has been showing. I would not wonder if he comes out still in fresh colours.

Do you further remember my remarks at the Working Committee meeting in Bombay that it should not be forgotten that at best the words of Amery were words of diplomacy? I still think that the British Government may turn turtle and Amery’s words might after all prove to be words of diplomacy.

Now to your dig into Sapru. It cannot be denied—may I put it as plainly as I feel—that he is a man of no mean order. He seems to be more resourceful than you can be, for one evident reason if not for any other, that he has a wider field to play on in the political world of India than you have. He can easily cast his eyes, as I see he has been doing, on the various political bodies, big and small, and call them to muster to do [*sic*] Jinnah—which, in other words, means the League—in the eye. Propagandists of the Hindu political cause, and any number of them right from England down to India, are straining themselves, even at the cost—Government having a soft corner for the majority—of letting loose a number of Jai Prakash Narains on the country, to see that the democracy of the Congress kind, or of the majority ideal, is thrust on India and the League undermined. You must have noticed the concluding words of the leader on “Political Prisoners” in the *Times* to-day. It dubs Pakistan as a “strange



device". You have, therefore, a smaller field to influence than Sapru has; and your field may be limited to the Congressite Muslims and the Jamiat-ul-Ulama, from which one may expect to gather further strength for the League; but we have not succeeded so far. The situation is, therefore, daily growing complicated and calls for your attention.<sup>2</sup> The Viceroy and Sapru appear, in their actions of late, to be intent upon avenging themselves against Jinnah, and the cause Jinnah champions seems to go with him in their eyes. I am sure you must be deeply engrossed in planning out ways and means as to how to steer clear of the inimical maze that is being put in your way, as insurmountable handicaps.

Dear Jinnah, having come to the end of this letter, I feel lighter of the heavy weight that was weighing me down these days—lighter because I feel happy that I have had my say to you. If you find that there is more sentiment than politics in it or, in your words, more "philosophy and poetry," assign it to the waste paper basket without any compunction or regard for me.

I have always been attached to you and I still feel,

I am,  
My dear friend,  
Ever yours,  
A. M. K. DEHLAVI

<sup>1</sup>See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, III, 1458-64.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 257 for Jinnah's reply.

## 222

*M. A. Jinnah to Chaman Lal<sup>1</sup>*

NEW DELHI,  
15 November 1941

Dear Mr. Chaman Lal,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th instant.<sup>2</sup> You say in your letter that you are pained to see me urging for the division of India. It shows that you have not studied the question and I find that most of the Hindus are of that frame of mind. It is the best solution that I can offer. There is plenty of literature available and if you examine it dispassionately and honestly you will find that it is as much in the interest of the Hindus as it is in the interest of the Musalmans. In my opinion that is the quickest way to India's freedom. It shows how



much you are misinformed when you say, 'Pakistan means a sacred land'. It is nothing of the kind. You better study the articles that appeared in the book of Khalida Adib Khanum and you will understand the origin of the word "Pakistan".

However, it is no use my discussing the matter further nor can I agree to give an article to you that may find a place in your proposed book.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Chaman Lal, Esq.,  
Journalist,  
Kashmiri Gate,  
Delhi

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 21.

<sup>2</sup>No. 217.

## 223

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani*

*F. 310/16*

*15 November 1941*

My dear Mr. Ahmad Ispahani,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the letter<sup>1</sup> [dated 18 September 1941] which I wrote to Sir Adamjee and hope that you will keep the *Star of India* going.

With kindest regards to you all,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 134.

## 224

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani*

*F. 306/102*

NEW DELHI,  
*15 November 1941*

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 12th<sup>1</sup> enclosing a circular issued

under the signature of Nawab of Dacca and others.

Nazimuddin is arriving today and it is reported that he is carrying a letter from Mr. Fazlul Huq and we will see what to do in the matter.

Yes, I saw Mr. Joseph here and had a long talk with him. I have also written to Sir Adamjee.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 214.

<sup>2</sup>No. 134.

## 225

*M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ismail*

*F. 304/120*

NEW DELHI,  
15 November 1941

Dear Nawab Ismail,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you very much for it, and specially I appreciate your personal references to me and the kind regard in which you hold me.

With regard to the question of my sending you in writing the principles of Pakistan that we discussed in our conference, I am afraid we cannot commit ourselves definitely yet, beyond the Lahore Resolution, and in our conference also we discussed the principles embodied in the Lahore Resolution. So far as the principles are concerned, they are very clearly defined in the Lahore Resolution and I think most of us understand them and so is the case with our opponents.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab S. M. Ismail,  
Ismail Manzil,  
Patna City

<sup>1</sup>No. 207.

226

*M. A. Jinnah to M. I. Rabbani**F. 769/249-50*NEW DELHI,  
15 November 1941

Dear Sir,

Mr. Matlub has placed your letter<sup>1</sup> before me. As I have explained in my previous letters,<sup>2</sup> the Punjab Muslim Students Federation is not a political organisation, nor are the students, as I have repeatedly said, expected to take part in the current politics or political developments in the country, but as I have said before, they can, in their own way and without neglecting their primary duty of devoting their time and concentrating their mind on their studies, during the vacations and holidays, among other things, for which the Federation stands according to the constitution, devote some of their time and energy for the purpose of helping the social, economic and educational uplift of the masses. You can explain to the people, whenever you have the opportunity, the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League, after full and thorough study of it. Unless, therefore, this definite basis is maintained, you will make confusion worse confounded.

Mr. Niazi, Mr. Chishti and Mirza Abdul Hameed are not, I believe, students in the strict sense of the word although they were connected with the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, and, therefore, they are free to act as they think proper outside the fold of the Federation. I understand that they stand for active politics and wish to play their part in current politics and their proper course is to join the Muslim League in their own District and Primary Muslim Leagues. If they wish to organise and improve the Provincial Muslim League, there is no bar on their doing so as members of the Muslim League. I am, therefore, unable to understand what your quarrel is about, provided these principles are kept before you.

As to the question of the election of the President and the office-bearers of the Provincial Muslim Students Federation, it can only be done with the approval of the majority of the members of

the Federation and they alone should decide as to who should be the office-bearers.

I hope I have made my views clear.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 213.

<sup>2</sup>Not traced but an extract appears to have been printed in the *Civil & Military Gazette*. See F. 769/255, QAP. Not printed.

## 227

*Mir Maqbool Mahmood to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

PERSONAL

16 November 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am dictating this letter in the train on my return journey from Bhopal. I have just seen the press cutting, attached, from the *Hindustan Times* of today and deem it my duty to bring it to your notice. I cannot believe the accuracy of the part attributed to Malik Barkat Ali and trust that this is another instance of wishful thinking. Anyway, such mischief must be nipped in the bud and perhaps you would refer or mention it to Malik Barkat Ali to issue an emphatic contradiction if, as I believe, the news to be [sic for is] unfounded.

I am preparing a note for your consideration in the light of our talks in Bombay and Delhi and will bring it to you as soon as it is ready.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
MAQBOOL MAHMOOD

[Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier of the Punjab]

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 324.

### *Enclosure*

### *Punjab Assembly Parties*<sup>1</sup>

### Opposition to Measure Strength Against Govt.

LAHORE,  
13 November 1941

Inquiries in political circles in Lahore and Amritsar confirm the report that in case the Congress Party get permission to attend the



Punjab Legislative Assembly a serious attempt will be made by the opposition parties to measure their strength against the Unionist Ministry.

An agreement is said to have been reached between the Akali and Congress leaders on the one hand and Malik Barkat Ali, the leader of the independent group of Muslims, on the other hand for the consolidation of opposition groups into a united party under the leadership of Sardar Sampuran Singh.

Malik Barkat Ali has the support of about 10 to 12 independent Muslim members in this move, but he is understood to have assured the Congress and Akali leaders that if the opposition parties put up a united front more Muslim members will desert the Unionist ranks and join them.

At present the numerical strength of the parties is as follows:

Ministerial Party, including twelve members of the Khalsa Nationalist Party—113.

Opposition, including the Congress, the Akalis, the Ahrars and the unattached Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh members—60.

One seat which was resigned by Dr. Satyapal is still vacant and one seat is occupied by the Speaker, who belongs to no party, making up a total of 175.

<sup>1</sup>The *Hindustan Times*, 16 November 1941.

## 228

*Mir Maqbool Mahmood to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

COUNCIL HOUSE,  
NEW DELHI,  
17 November 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please accept my respectful and devoted greetings for another great score for the Muslim League in securing amends from the Bengal Premier [Fazlul Huq] for his lapses and in maintaining the solidarity of the League with dignity. May you be spared long to lead us.

Yours sincerely,  
MAQBOOL MAHMOOD

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 325.

## 229

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M.A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/104-5*

5 CAMAC STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
17 November 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Last night, a telephone call from Nazimuddin informed us that the [Muslim League] Working Committee had finally accepted<sup>1</sup> Fazlul Huq's last letter<sup>2</sup> as an *amende honorable*. This decision was contrary to my expectation. However, the Working Committee's decision is my decision and I shall loyally stand by it—consigning my own opinion to the four winds.

Did Nazimuddin convey to you Fazlul Huq's message of yesterday afternoon through Sir Bejoy Singh Roy? Huq authorised Roy to tell Nazimuddin to withdraw his letter of the 8th September<sup>3</sup> in toto if necessary and to get the assurance of the Working Committee that this withdrawal would not be published right away. He further passed on the assurance that once the curtain was dropped on the whole episode, he would write a very fine letter to you acknowledging you as his leader and further gave the assurance that he would call and pay his respects to you when he next visits Delhi. Did Nazimuddin tell this to the Working Committee or to you privately?

Yesterday evening, while we were waiting in the house of the Nawab of Dacca [Khwaja Habibullah] for the decision of Working Committee, Shahabuddin suggested that we should telephone Delhi and press for the acceptance of Fazlul Huq's letter as sufficient apology. I refused point blank and told them that as I considered the Working Committee to be a body of intelligent men and you were its President, it would be an open insult to offer them unsolicited directions. I further told the meeting that I did not consider Fazlul Huq's letter as sufficient amends and that if they spoke to Delhi, I too reserved the right to telephone my opinion through to Delhi.

Some minutes later Shahabuddin came forth with a more astounding statement, that in case the Working Committee rejected the letter as unsatisfactory, it was his considered opinion that we should make the Working Committee see reason and to act on our advice as the whole dispute related to our Province. You may be sure that I did

not leave unsaid anything that was worth saying. I told the meeting that the suggestion of Shahabuddin struck at the root of discipline and could not, therefore, be given a second stet consideration—that the League was an all-India political organisation and not an association of time-servers and self-seekers and made it clear to them that I for one would declare open war, and felt confident that even in Bengal, I would not be left single-handed to fight the battle that must necessarily result if such a step is taken.

So, no suggestions or threats were telephoned to Delhi.

I am issuing a statement to the press today, and I hope it will meet with your approval.

Confidentially, Huq told Bejoy Singh, and that was conveyed to me by the latter last evening, that he will not carry on the fight in the Province. May Providence help him to adhere to his resolve: His Progressive Party must go and so must his paper, the *Nayayuga*, stop writing against the League and you. In short, unless he orders a general ceasefire, I cannot see how our war can be called off.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

PS. A copy of the statement is enclosed for your information.

<sup>1&2</sup>See No. 232.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 117, note 1.

*Enclosure*  
*Statement by M. A. Hassan Ispahani*

F.306/103

There will be a general sense of relief in Bengal that the explanation of Mr. Huq and his request to treat the incident as closed have been accepted at the meeting in Delhi in a generous and sporting spirit. If all hold to the spirit of it, Bengal will be saved from the atmosphere of crisis and convulsion which has been disturbing public life at a time when the whole energy of the country should be conserved to face the problems that we have before us.

To make the spirit of goodwill genuine, there should be an end to the tendency to create cliques within the Coalition Party for whom Mr. Huq speaks as Premier of Bengal, and secondly, there should be a stop to the recriminations in the press over the topic now buried. If good faith is maintained on this basis, I am sure of the cohesion and stability which the nation requires at the present juncture.

The resolution<sup>1</sup> of the League Working Committee on the constitutional position is also most opportune in view of the possibility of the



Quaid-i-Azam with Punjab Muslim students delegation at the Delhi residence, February 1941





Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan being received by City Muslim League at Cawnpore in UP, March 1941



Quaid-i-Azam with Muslim dignitaries at Oatacammund in South  
India, June 1941



Quaid-i-Azam on the way to address the annual session of Muslim  
League of Allahabad in April 1942



Quaid-i-Azam presiding over annual session of the Muslim League with  
Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan sitting besides him at Allahabad, April 1942



claims of Muslims at the Centre and in the provinces being short-circuited. In the last change of Government policy, Muslim interests had been overridden, as may be seen in the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the creation of an *ad hoc* Defence Council when better measures for the enthusiastic prosecution of the war could have been devised in terms of the suggestions made by the Muslim League with a like opening for others to co-operate.

I am afraid the standpoint taken by the Muslims is in danger of being ignored by the Government in [*sic* for under] the dual pressure brought from one end by Mr. Gandhi and, from the other, by the exponents of parliamentary co-operation without reference to the rights of Muslims and the minorities. This is a time for a united front and with the present assurance of leadership offered by Mr. Fazlul Huq I hope that Bengal will not fail the rest of the Muslim India, nor fall short of any fair opportunities thrown open for Muslims to associate themselves in an agreed programme.

<sup>1</sup>See No. 232, Resolution No. 2.

## 230

*Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/3*

CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
17 November 1941

My dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

With reference to your letter of 13th November 1941,<sup>1</sup> I write to say that at present there is no vacancy of any sort to be filled, and that even if it does fall vacant at any time, I shall have to select a suitable man or men from among my own subjects and not foreigners, as far as possible, in whom I could repose my confidence. For, appointment of outsiders, however qualified they may be, is not looked upon with favour by my subjects here as they think that now the time has come for them to be given a chance to show their worth; and this viewpoint or aspiration of theirs is certainly correct and worthy of my consideration. Therefore, I am afraid I cannot say more than this and trust that you will understand what I have written in connection with this important subject which is engaging the attention and mind of my people day and night.

In conclusion, I trust you will not mind my saying that apart from my appreciating your friendly advice, as the case has been so far, in

my opinion, it is not advisable for you to write or draw my attention to problems of this nature from time to time as they do not remain secret but leak out somehow or other and this makes the people of Simla and Delhi suspicious of my doings, thinking that some hidden hand is doing its work behind their back which is not conducive to my own interests, and why this is so I cannot explain since you already know them thoroughly well in view, of course, of the present attitude of your Muslim League as far as it concerns the affairs of British India. Under these circumstances we must be careful in handling affairs of this kind, specially at a time when India is passing through critical stages owing to the war, while the destiny of Indian States hangs in the balance, not knowing what would be the result of those who did not play their cards well when the rubber was within their reach.

Hope you are well,

Yours sincerely,  
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 215.

## 231

*M. U. Abbasi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 773/133-4*

HOSPITAL ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
18 November 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I met you when you came to Karachi at Sir Haji Abdoola Haroon's house. You advised me to stick to my line of journalism and that the day would come when I would do something great.

I have been carrying on a campaign against K. B. Allah Bakhsh and his Ministry for the past so many years. I have written to Gandhiji that he was committing a crime by supporting the satanic Ministry of Allah Bakhsh. I have written open letters to Sir Hugh Dow, the Governor of Sind, to institute an enquiry where I would prove that some of the Ministers of Allah Bakhsh Ministry are corrupt. I am sending all this under separate cover.<sup>1</sup> Neither Gandhiji nor the Governor of Sind did anything.

The result of all these writings has been that [the] Allah Bakhsh

Ministry has demanded six thousand rupees [as] security from the *New Sind* under the Press Emergency Act of 1931. I have been ordered to deposit six thousand rupees within ten days. The greatest joke was that the local Press Advisory Committee of all Hindu editors, among them two Congressmen, supported the Ministry in their demand for security, though Congress has been fighting against the Press Emergency Act so much so that Gandhiji has stopped bringing out his *Harijan*. But where a Muslim is concerned, everything is good [enough] to beat him [with], though I have been always national in my views.

Mr. Jinnah, I have a lot to tell you. I have received some funny letters from Gandhiji in reply to my letters. I very much wish to come to Bombay to see you personally on this matter. Sheikh Abdul Majid and K. B. Khuhro have advised me to write to you and request you for advice, to see you and place the entire matter before you.

I am, therefore, awaiting your reply and advice. I do not want any financial assistance. I am coming to keep [sic] before you the fact how Muslims have suffered at the hands of Congress and how Allah Bakhsh Ministry is corrupt so that you may move the matter with the Viceroy.

This is my only object in coming to Bombay or anywhere else you want me to meet you.

Yours sincerely,  
M. U. ABBASI  
Editor,  
*The New Sind*

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

## 232

*Proceedings of the AIML Working Committee Meeting*  
F. 826/168-72

[Extract]

CONFIDENTIAL

DELHI,  
18 November 1941

A meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League was held at the central office of the All India Muslim League, Delhi, on Sunday, the 16th of November 1941, at 11 a.m., under the presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

The Committee considered the case of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq and passed the following six resolutions:



## RESOLUTION NO. 1

The Working Committee considered the following letter of explanation of Mr. Fazlul Huq, dated November 14, received by the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League:

Dear Nawabzada,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 29,<sup>1</sup> forwarding for my information ■ copy of resolution No. 2<sup>2</sup> adopted by the Working Committee of the Muslim League and confirmed by the Council of Muslim League at meetings of both the bodies, held on October 27 at Delhi.<sup>3</sup>

I regret the delay in sending you my reply. It has been due entirely to the poor state of my health, and I did not feel justified in replying to a communication of such ■ serious import without giving the matter most anxious consideration.

No one knows better than the President himself that I have always been a loyal member of the League, have never hesitated to carry out its mandates and once a decision was constitutionally adopted by it, have never hesitated to obey it even though that decision might not personally commend itself to me. If there were any doubts in regard to this point, my resignation from the National Defence Council amply proves it.

It is an irony of fate that of all those who have given their best to build up the only national organization of the Muslim India, I should have been the object of so much misunderstanding and so much uninformed criticism. It appears that portions of my letter have hurt the feelings of the President and some of my other friends. I convey to them through you my assurance that nothing was further from my intention than to hurt the feelings of or to cast aspersions on anyone, and I hope that my assurance in this respect will be accepted and the matter considered as closed.

A. K. Fazlul Huq

The Working Committee excuse the delay on the part of Mr. Fazlul Huq in not sending the reply within ten days on the ground of his ill-health as the matter was of such serious import that it required his anxious consideration. The Working Committee note Mr. Fazlul Huq's earnest reaffirmation of his loyalty to the Muslim League and his statement that he has never hesitated to carry out the mandates of the League, the latest instance in proof thereof is his resignation from the National Defence Council in obedience to the decision of the Working Committee. The Working Committee further note his assurance



that nothing was further from his intention than to hurt the feelings of or to cast aspersions on the President or the executive of the League and others concerned; and as Mr. Fazlul Huq requests the Working Committee that his assurance should be accepted, it is hereby resolved that no further action be taken in the matter.

The following members were opposed to the resolution and were for taking action against Mr. Fazlul Huq as his letter was unsatisfactory and did not comply with the resolution that was passed by the Working Committee and adopted by the Council of the All India Muslim League on the same date, the 27th of October 1941:

*[Names omitted]*

Mr. Hossain Imam remained neutral.

The Working Committee considered the political situation in the country and passed the following resolution:

#### RESOLUTION NO. 2

The Working Committee regret that the British Government has not only failed to accept the offer of co-operation made by the Muslim League by its resolution, dated June 17, 1940,<sup>4</sup> but in utter disregard of it, it has expanded the Governor-General's Executive Council by associating with it persons representing nobody except themselves. This ill-advised and unfair action on the part of the Government, in the opinion of the [Working] Committee was due to the fact that the British Government was not prepared to concede the just demands of the Muslim League even when the Congress Party was engaged in obstructionist tactics and civil disobedience and refused to even consider any agreement within the framework of the present constitution. The Working Committee, therefore, urge upon the Government that no further steps be taken or adjustments made in the future even within the framework of the present constitution and law without approval and consent of the All India Muslim League, and once more warn the Government that any action in this connection without approval of the Muslim League will be deeply resented and the responsibility for the consequences that may ensue will be entirely that of the Government.

The Working Committee passed the following resolution about Allama Mashriqi, the leader of the Khaksars:

#### RESOLUTION NO. 3

The Working Committee wish to draw the attention of the Government that the prolonged and indefinite incarceration and

detention without trial of Allama Mashriqi is causing grave concern not only to the members of the Khaksar organization but to the Musalmans generally. In view of the changed situation, the [Working] Committee urge upon the Government of India to reconsider their policy and release Allama Mashriqi without delay.

The Working Committee appointed a Sub-Committee consisting of Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to hear and decide all appeals that may be made to the Working Committee by various branches of the League organization and adopted the following resolution:

#### RESOLUTION NO. 4

Resolved that a Sub-Committee consisting of Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan be appointed to consider, hear and decide all appeals that may be made to the Working Committee by the various branches of the League organization.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 5

By virtue of the authority conferred upon the President by resolution No. 1 of the Working Committee, passed at its meeting held on the 12th of April 1941<sup>5</sup> at Madras, the President nominated the following to be the members of the Parliamentary Committee:

*[Names omitted]*

Three members to form the quorum; the Committee will exercise all the powers and functions as defined in resolution No. 14, passed at the 26th annual session of the All India Muslim League held at Patna in December 1938, which runs as follows:

This session of the All India Muslim League resolves that the present Provincial Parliamentary Boards shall cease to function as soon as Provincial League or Leagues set up a machinery of their own for the purpose of selecting and adopting candidates for their respective legislatures and other elected bodies. Any machinery that may be so set up by the Provincial Leagues shall be subject to the control and supervision of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League or such committee as they may appoint for the purpose and the decision of the Working Committee or the special committee, so appointed, in case of appeal to them shall be final; and further resolves that for the Central Legislature, the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League should constitute such machinery for the purpose of elections to the Central Legislature as it thinks proper.

The Working Committee considered the joint report of the Indo-Ceylon delegation and passed the following resolution:

## RESOLUTION NO. 6

The Working Committee are of the opinion that some of the proposals contained in the joint report of the Indo-Ceylon Exploratory Conference are open to serious objections and adversely affect the rights of Indians in Ceylon. The Committee call upon the Government that such modifications as would guarantee and ensure those just rights of Indians should be made in those proposals before any action is taken in the matter.

NAWABZADA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN  
*Honorary Secretary,  
 All India Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>See AFM, 133/92. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 89-91.

<sup>3</sup>AFM 277/97. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>No. 323, JP, XV, 441-3, Resolution No. 1.

<sup>5</sup>AFM 133/36. Not printed.

## 233

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/106*

5 CAMAC STREET,  
 CALCUTTA,  
 20 November 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of the 15th instant<sup>1</sup> was received yesterday. I cannot understand the delay.

As you know Fazlul Huq is in the Tropical Diseases Hospital, suffering from hernia. Yesterday evening, I went to see Mrs. Nooruddin, who is laid up in the same hospital, and on the steps I met [Fazlul] Huq. He was very cordial, sincere and affectionate. But all these count with persons who are sincere and honest. So far, there seems to be peace in the Province. The issuing of statements and counter-statements has been given a holiday. I am told that the *Nayayuga* too is not as vulgar as it used to be.

The Assembly meets on the 27th November. Until it meets, no one



can conjecture what Huq will do. Let us all take Asquith's<sup>2</sup> advice and just 'wait and see'.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 224.

<sup>2</sup>British Prime Minister, 1908-16.

## 234

*S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 304/121-2*

ISMAIL MANZIL,  
PATNA CITY,  
20 November 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you very much for your very kind letter dated 15th November<sup>1</sup> in reply to my personal autograph [hand written] letter, dated 3rd November.<sup>2</sup>

I appreciate all what you have stated; my only reason in asking for the information was for my personal guidance and not for public reference.

There is a very important matter which I refer to you and for which I seek immediate guidance so that the talk that you had with [Henry Vincent] Hodson, Reforms Commissioner, Government of India, shall be my guide for my talk with him. H. E. Sir Thomas Stewart has asked my consent to meet him and to discuss with him problems connected with the future constitution of India.

While we of the Muslim League do adhere [to] and stand by the Lahore Resolution<sup>3</sup> and its implication, I do feel that some brief instruction from you is immediately required to convey the impression on the lines in which you discussed matters with him. Of course, we have to abide by your orders and insist on your demand. It is with a view to keep[ing] you acquainted and seek[ing] your guidance that I am giving you this trouble.

H. V. Hodson, the Reforms Commissioner, is reaching Patna on the 5th December. I am requested to meet him on the 6th December. I shall be most grateful if you could favour me with a reply before the end of this month.



Assuring you of ever unflinching devotion and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
ISMAIL

<sup>1</sup>No. 225.

<sup>2</sup>No. 207.

<sup>3</sup>No. 156, *JP*, XV, 229-30, Resolution No. 1.

## 235

*B. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/324*

LAHORE,  
21 November 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It was the surprise of my life to find in the local *Tribune* today a statement having said that you are on [the] war-path against everybody but yourself.

I enclose herewith a disclaimer, which I have just written. I must apologise to you most sincerely for such a statement having appeared without any basis whatsoever.

It would appear to me that somebody has listened to some private conversation and made up one or two sentences out of it, wholly wrong.

I recall with pleasure the interview which I had with you at Bombay and the open candidness with which you talked to us.

I hope, some time in [the] future, we may again have the privilege of seeing you.

Thanking you,

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
B. L. RALLIA RAM  
General Secretary,  
*All-India Council of Indian Christians*

*Enclosure**B. L. Rallia Ram to Editor, Tribune, Lahore**F. 1099/325*

LAHORE,

21 November 1941

Sir,

I was extremely surprised this morning to read in your paper a statement, supposed of [*sic* for to be] mine, regarding Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. I have given no statement nor have I given any interview to any person.

The words ascribed to me concerning Mr. Jinnah are wholly untrue: that "Mr. Jinnah is at a warpath against everybody but himself". I cannot possibly presume to pass such a judgment against a person of Mr. Jinnah's standing for whose sincerity of purpose and devotion to India I have the highest regards, just as I have for Mahatmaji and other Congress leaders.

The publication of such misleading news without any authority cannot serve the true interests of our motherland, which should be the sole concern of every patriotic Indian.

I, therefore, entirely dissociate myself with [*sic* for from] the paragraph published in your paper.

B. L. RALLIA RAM

236

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah**F. 306/107-9*5 CAMAC STREET,  
CALCUTTA,

21 November 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On the eve of [Khwaja] Nazimuddin's departure for Delhi to attend the [Muslim League] Working Committee meeting of the 16th instant, we met at Shahabuddin's house. The following were present: Nawab of Dacca, Tamizuddin, Moulana Akrum Khan, his son Khairul Anam Khan, Nazimuddin, Shaheed [Suhrawardy], Shahabuddin, Hamidul Haq Chowdhury, Nooruddin and I. Nooruddin

and I expressed the view that it was a folly to force the patching up of the dispute between the Central League and Fazlul Huq because we were convinced that Fazlul Huq, after making peace with the All India Muslim League, would not bury the hatchet but would carry on his fight in the Province. I even told them that had I been in Fazlul Huq's place, I would have gone out of my way to make peace with you and even to permit myself to be photographed kneeling at your feet and begging for forgiveness. Having made peace with you, I would wait a few weeks and then would so strike in the Province on a non-League issue that I would finish my Muslim opponents in Bengal. Again, however, the wiseacres of the Province, namely the Ministers and their Chief Whip, felt and, as a matter of fact, were of the definite opinion that we were wrong and that Fazlul Huq would not move as we anticipated, and if he did, he would be on a worse wicket than the one he stood on prior to his making peace with the Centre. We did our bit to avert the commission of a folly but met with no success.

As I have already advised you, last Sunday afternoon in Nawab of Dacca's house, when we were waiting for a telephone call from Nazimuddin, Shahabuddin actually came forward with the preposterous proposition that we should even go to the extent of forcing your hands to accept Fazlul Huq's letter<sup>1</sup> as sufficient amends for his sins and to close the controversy. Of course, I protested and told them that even if the League Working Committee did accept Fazlul Huq's letter as sufficient apology, although I would abide by the decision of that body, I would still maintain that it had committed a political blunder. I also told them that Nazimuddin was doing the Muslim Leaguers of this Province immeasurable injury by pleading for the acceptance of Huq's explanation by the Working Committee.

Well, so much for the past. Now let me tell you what is worrying me. I feel that Fazlul Huq, having made his peace with the Centre, will not cease fire unless, of course, he feels certain that there is risk of his being ousted from the Chief Ministership. Fazlul Huq will carry on the fight; he will encourage his supporters to go on with the no-confidence motion against Shaheed Suhrawardy and others; he will insist on turning out the Ministers whom he or his party do not approve. He will have the further advantage of saying that his quarrel is, this time, with his Ministers and has nothing to do with the League. He will say, "I cannot work with X or Y. They are Muslim Leaguers no doubt. I will substitute them with A and B who are also just as much Muslim Leaguers as X or Y". Then we may shout as much as we can, and in the Province, we shall not make progress because the



fight will no longer be between an individual and a political organisation like the All India Muslim League, but one between one person and another. Here Fazlul Huq will not have the hostile reception that awaited him when he was attempting to fight our all-India organisation. I will not be surprised if he succeeds in marshalling a large slice of Muslim public opinion in Bengal to his side, because, after all is said and done, the mass still believes, however wrong the belief may be, that Nawabs and Rajas are their exploiters. The struggle, if cleverly handled, and no one will doubt that Huq is a clever man, will change from Huq-All India League fight into one between the zamindars and the cultivators-the rich and the poor Muslims, the haves and have-nots. When it does so change, the whip will be in Huq's hand and our great leaders of the Province will have to bend before it!

Personally, I am not interested in individuals. I have all along made it clear to you, Sir, that I do not care two brass pins whether X is in power or Y. I have also often expressed the opinion that the whole batch of Muslim Ministers in Bengal is all tarred with the same brush. One is as bad as the other. If Fazlul Huq is a devil the others are no better, although some of them may, to camouflage, cover themselves with the cloaks of saints. I make this statement because I know everyone of them. I have tested them and have found their chief concern to be to remain in office and to wield the power that their office carries. None of them is a selfless person and none of them really, genuinely and sincerely supports the League for the sake of the League. They stand by it because it suits them. I have seen many instances in the last four and a half years when, without any compunction, they threw the decision and principles of the League to the four winds. So to me, really, it does not matter whether Fazlul Huq remains in power or he goes out. I am not going to bother myself about individuals. Let them fight for themselves and do the best they can in their own interests. If, however, anyone of them treads on the feet of the League, I shall certainly not hesitate to slap him. I am just sick and tired of the 'friends' of the League in Bengal. They are really the enemies of the League. Let them stew in their own juice. They are set soon to cut their own throats. I do hope and pray that they do no injury to the prestige of the League.

Shahabuddin has telephoned me asking me to be present at a private meeting at his house tonight when Shaheed and Nazimuddin are expected to join in the deliberations. I do not know what the next move of our great leaders will be. I shall write again tomorrow.

I maintain that we have lost an excellent opportunity of bowling



out Fazlul Huq on the wicket prepared by the Providence. We shall not have such an opportunity again in a hurry. This opportunity was thrown away by the Working Committee and the Province because of the weak-kneed advice and persuasion of our Muslim Ministers' clique, who are today unfortunately being guided by Shahabuddin.

Fazlul Huq has emerged the cleverer man. He has settled with the League. He will now crush the existing League here pretending to be as much a champion and servant of the League as anyone in Bengal.

I feel we have lost our fight due to bad generalship in the Province. I hope my apprehensions and views are wrong and trust that our 'League Ministers' have guided us on the right path. Let us hope so for the sake of the Muslims and the League in Bengal.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>See No. 232, Resolution No. 1.

## 237

*Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH,  
22 November 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

I write this letter to you regarding the Muslim education. I have been working on Muslim education since [sic] four years. In 1939, as a member of the Education Sub-Committee of the A.I.M. [All India Muslim] League, I contributed to the Pirpur Education Report and showed how the present reorganisation of education under the influence of Wardha Scheme<sup>2</sup> will work for de-Islamizing the Muslim nation. In 1940, I prepared and published an alternative scheme for primary Muslim education, a copy<sup>3</sup> of which I sent to you for your perusal.

I am pleased that a number of leading Muslim educationists, who think in terms of Muslim League or true Islamic ideology, have enthusiastically supported it. I submit to you the following two out of a number of these opinions. Khan Fazal Mohammed Sahib, the Education Member of Hyderabad State, commenting on my education

scheme, wrote to Kamal Yar Jung Committee that they should adopt my scheme in its entirety. Khalifa Dr. Shuja Uddin, Secretary of Islamia College, Lahore, in a personal letter, writes that he is in complete agreement with my conclusions and suggestions. Since then and at the suggestion of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib, I am working on the entire aspect of Muslim education.

You will be pleased to hear that I have nearly completed my work and will submit it in the form of a brochure of about 150 pages. I want and request you to see my main conclusions yourself and if you find them useful, kindly help me to put them into force. The Wardha Scheme, in its various forms, is spreading not only in Hindu provinces but also in Muslim zones, especially in Sindh and Kashmir. It is bound to recoil on the destinies of the Muslims. The Kamal Yar Jung Committee has not yet submitted its report. We cannot wait indefinitely and must make a move in anticipation. I am praying against hope that it may provide for our destiny in terms of the Muslim League ideology. I have always tried to co-operate with them but they have been rather indifferent in seeking the co-operation of people, voicing the League idealism, and have not yet exchanged any views with us, the Aligarh Leaguers, formally or informally.

I, therefore, request you to see that at least some humble beginning is made in the form of establishing one or more centres for Muslim education along the basis of our ideology. Hope this letter will find you in sound health.

With best wishes,

I have the honour to be,

Yours devotedly,

MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 328-9.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 154, note 2, *JP*, XV, 225.

<sup>3</sup>Not traced.

## 238

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani**F. 306/110*NEW DELHI,  
25 November 1941

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letters, the last one dated the 21st November,<sup>1</sup> and also a copy of the interview<sup>2</sup> [statement] that you gave to the press. I am sorry I was not able to reply earlier owing to my indisposition.

So far as the Working Committee is concerned, we have done what we thought was right and I am glad that the public has also approved of our decision. That was the issue between Mr. Fazlul Huq and the All India Muslim League.

[As regards] the question of your local affairs, they have to be handled mainly by the leaders of your Province, but as I have said before, we shall not hesitate to do all that lies in our power to maintain the prestige of the League in Bengal and to help you people there in every way we can.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAHM. A. Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,  
Calcutta<sup>1</sup>Nos. 229, 233 & 236.<sup>2</sup>Enclosure to No. 229.

## 239

*M. I. Rabbani to M. A. Jinnah**F. 769/258-60*THE QUADRANGLE,  
GOVERNMENT COLLEGE,  
LAHORE,  
25 November 1941

My respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am highly indebted to you for the two letters<sup>1</sup> which you sent to

me in reply to my letters<sup>2</sup> addressed to your Secretary. I have been acting on your kind advice and have been proceeding accordingly.

During Mr. Noman's stay here, we had lot of discussions and finally sat down for the compromise. The other party, I mean Mr. Niazi and company, wanted offices and we did concede [those] to them.

Now they are again after the breaking of relations as we have refused to accept Messrs. Niazi and Chishti's names for the General Secretaryship as submitted by them on the plea that they are not students. The situation is as bad as ever. They have now decided to capture the [Muslim Students] Federation by remaining within it. That is why they have given their own names for the office of General Secretary.

It is expected that within a week they shall either join the League or form a Youth League or would submit to our decision or shall revive the rival federation which they had recently formed. To me the break seems inevitable.

I beg to apologise that [sic for for] a portion of your letter has [sic for having] been published in a paper.<sup>3</sup> In fact that has been done without my consent.

One day, I invited Mr. Noman to tea at my place where Mian Bashir Ahmad was also present. The reporter of the paper is our personal friend and helps the federation in every way. He was also there. I showed the letter to the friends present there. The reporter also read it. Afterwards he gave it in the paper. Whatever the effect may have been, he should have not done that without my consent, as I had not your permission. Now he himself is sorry for that.

Even I refused to hand it over to Mr. Noman for showing it to Mr. Niazi. I regret this mistake. Sir, I hope you would kindly overlook this mistake.

The election will be held this week and the members would settle [down] to work. They are determined to wipe out the bad element.

I thank you again for the kind advice and hope that you would guide us in future as well.

With respects,

Yours obediently,

M. I. RABBANI

*ex-Organizing Secretary,*

*Punjab Muslim Students Federation*

<sup>1</sup>See No. 226 while the other letter has not been traced.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 769/231-40, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 226, note 2.



## 240

*M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ismail*

*F. 1092/143*

NEW DELHI,  
25 November 1941

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I have already written to you<sup>1</sup> and explained to you the situation that we stand by the Lahore Resolution and it is quite clear to every man, who understands the constitutional problems of India, and also to every intelligent man if he applies his mind and tries to understand it.

I cannot say anything more because it is liable to be misunderstood and misrepresented, specially at present.

I think Mr. Hodson fully understands as to what our demand is.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab S. M. Ismail,  
Ismail Manzil,  
Patna

<sup>1</sup>See Nos. 225 & 234.

## 241

*M. A. Jinnah to Fazil Mooraj*

*F. 1092/144*

NEW DELHI,  
26 November 1941

Dear Mr. Mooraj,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th instant.<sup>1</sup> The draft of the resolution suggested by you has been repeatedly made clear to the British Government. It only shows that you have not been following the events when you ask the Muslim League, as late as 15th November 1941, to do what has been repeatedly made clear during the last two years.

I also read Sir Fazalbhoy's letter, enclosed by you, with interest.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Fazil Mooraj, Esq.,  
Bombay

<sup>1</sup>No. 220.

## 242

*Ch. Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

LUCKNOW,  
27 November 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The news of your illness is heart-rending. We can sacrifice hundreds of such conferences to give you rest and peace to keep you fit to carry on the huge responsibility of guiding the destinies of the Muslims of India. We are confident that you will not disappoint this historical and politically most important city of the Province of UP, if you can. If you are weak we can cancel every other programme except your bare presence in the city shedding lustre to all our activities. We can even cancel your official reception, if need be. Jamal Mian will explain the situation to you.

Yours sincerely,  
KHALIQ

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 330.

## 243

*Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 399/17

SECRET/PERSONAL

NEW DELHI,  
27 November 1941

My dear Jinnah,

I received a copy of ■ letter addressed to you by Mir Amirulla (copy enclosed for ready reference).<sup>1</sup>

I have ascertained the facts, and there is no foundation for the

statement that the reserved vacancy has been given to a non-Muslim. This vacancy is, at present, unfilled: and the Railway Board are considering whether further steps can be taken to secure a suitable Muslim candidate. If you do know of any Muslim candidates, you might pass this information on to them.

I phoned to you the other day to fix up a meeting but I was extremely sorry to learn that you were unwell. I do hope that you are better now. You must take care of yourself.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

FIROZ NOON

*[Labour Member, Viceroy's Executive Council]*

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

## 244

*M. A. Jinnah to Ch. Khaliquzzaman<sup>1</sup>*

NEW DELHI,

*28 November 1941*

My dear Khaliq,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th instant<sup>2</sup> brought to me by Jamal Mian. Do you think I would have sent you the wire had it been possible for me to travel? You have no idea what a wrench it was to me. It is sheer physical impossibility.

I fully realise the great importance of the Conference. I am advised and feel myself that it will be dangerous for me to undertake the journey in the condition in which I am. I assure you that I would not have disappointed the historically and politically most important city in the province of U.P. if I could have managed to travel. Believe me the disappointment of mine is much greater. I shall never forget how the Musalmans of U.P., specially of Lucknow, the heart of it, rallied round the flag of the Muslim League in that historic session of the All India Muslim League that took place in October 1937.

You can, therefore, well understand the position that the heart is most willing but the flesh refuses and in these circumstances I am extremely sorry to disappoint you and your co-workers and the people in general.

But cheer up. The Muslim League is now strong enough to take

care of itself. I have no doubt that your Conference will be a magnificent success and perhaps another occasion will present itself at no distant date when I will have the honour to visit Lucknow.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman,  
Lucknow

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 28.

<sup>2</sup>No. 242.

## 245

*Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

19 TEMPLE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
28 November 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I find from the papers that you were confined for nearly a week and are now much better.

When I last saw you at Delhi on the occasion of the meeting of the Working Committee, I intended to discuss local affairs with you and to bring to your notice the attempt made here on the part of Sir Sikander and the Nawab of Mamdot to take some disciplinary action against me in connection with the last election. You were too busy and I felt that I should not worry you at that stage since I thought that better counsel would prevail and the Nawab of Mamdot, under the order of his chief, would hesitate to bring matters to a head. I have just now received a phonic message that the Nawab of Mamdot has instructed the Secretary to call a meeting of the Working Committee for 6th December and to put on the agenda an item of disciplinary action against me in connection with the part said to have been played by me in the last election. I have no idea at the moment of writing of the exact charges against me. When those charges will be [*sic* for are] communicated to me I will certainly give my explanation. I may just for your information state that as soon as your reply to me, as to whether you had approved of Mian Amir-ud-Din or not, was received, I immediately advised Mr. Abdussattar [Niazi] to withdraw and he did withdraw in



favour of the League candidate. Your telegram<sup>2</sup> said that the matter was for the Provincial League to decide. Abdussattar put in his nomination paper after the receipt of your earlier telegram<sup>3</sup> that members were free to put in their nomination papers. It is unnecessary to worry you with further details beyond this, that Abdussattar withdrew under my instructions, that I advised all my relations here to vote in favour of Mian Amir-ud-Din, and [that] they did vote. I was not here before and during the election. I was at Dalhousie. My only part is that after your telegram to Abdussattar and myself, I informed Abdussattar that he was free to stand. I can explain myself in detail after I know of the charge against me. For the present it appears to me that it is not open to the Working Committee of the Provincial League to take action against a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. It is certainly open to the Working Committee of Provincial Muslim League to submit their complaint to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League with a view to [taking] action against a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. If my view is correct then I would request you,<sup>4</sup> provided you have no objection, to ask the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League to defer taking any action but to submit their complaint, and the facts on which they rely, to you or to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, with the prayer that the matter may be considered by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

My object is merely to prevent matters here taking a very ugly shape. Not that I am afraid of anything in my conduct to which objection might be taken. But I am certain that this proposed action is really inspired by malice and as the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League consists mostly of the members of the Unionist Party I can very well imagine what their verdict will be. I assure you that if they call upon me to explain I will certainly give my explanation. All I desire is that the matter must be taken out of the hands of a body which consists of Sir Sikander's nominees, and must be considered with full responsibility by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. As a meeting of the Provincial Working Committee is said to be taking place on the 6th of December 1941, I am writing this letter to you to see if my view is correct and whether you can ask the Nawab of Mamdot to submit any complaint that he or his friends may have to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. I have really taken no part whatever in the deliberations of the body run by the Nawab of

Mamdot except that on one occasion I attended their meeting to remind them of their duty to obey the resolution<sup>5</sup> of the Working Committee about the War Committees. I was in a minority of one in their house, but I did my duty. I feel as a lawyer that a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League cannot be subject to any disciplinary action at the hands of a subordinate body and that even if the Provincial body has any complaint in respect of such a member it is their duty to bring their complaint to the notice of the superior authority and move that authority for necessary action. They cannot convert themselves into a court and sit in judgment about a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. BARKAT ALI  
MLA

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 332-5.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 111, note 2.

<sup>3</sup>F. 393/15, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>Jinnah replied on 6 December 1941 that he was unable to intervene. See Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 30.

<sup>5</sup>See No. 323, JP, XV, 443, Resolution No. 2.

## 246

*M. A. Jinnah to Firoz Khan Noon*

*F. 399/18*

NEW DELHI,  
29 November 1941

Dear Sir Firoz,

Many thanks for your letter of the 27th instant.<sup>1</sup> I am glad to hear that the reserved vacancy has not been filled yet and that the Railway Board are considering whether further steps can be taken to secure a suitable Muslim candidate. Surely, it ought not to be difficult to secure a suitable Muslim candidate if proper efforts are made. It is not possible for me to suggest the name of any Muslim candidate. It is only those, who are capable to speak with some authority in the matter and know the qualifications properly of the candidate, that can do so. Besides, the post can always be advertised and you also can help in the matter.

Yes, I received your phone message but I was not well. I thank

you for your kind enquiries and am glad to say that I am much better now. I will ring you up as soon as I am able to meet you.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Firoz Khan Noon,  
Labour Member, Viceroy's Executive Council,  
New Delhi

<sup>1</sup>No. 243.

## 247

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/111-13*

51 EZRA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
29 November 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of the 25th November.<sup>1</sup> I hope and pray that you are by now restored to health.

Well, Sir, what I expected has happened. I have been once again prophetic in my anticipation. Fazlul Huq has cheated all and has gained his object. He played for time and our clever wise men played into his hands.

About the 25th instant, a Cabinet meeting was held. The Governor wanted a direct reply from Huq as to whether he would consider the no-confidence resolution as a matter of joint responsibility because four of the other Muslim Ministers held the view that the Cabinet as a whole should stand or fall. Huq was told that that was the correct view and that if the batch of Ministers resigned he would consider the Cabinet as having fallen and that he would then be at liberty at his discretion to call anyone whom he considered best to form the next Government. He[the Governor] is further reported to have clearly stated that he could not give any assurance or the slightest hint that he would send for Huq to constitute another ministry. This was really a threat to Huq. The Europeans and the Governor want the maintenance of the *status quo* and do not want any shuffling or instability in the existing international conditions. Huq gave the Governor and the Cabinet the assurance that he would maintain the *status quo* and that he considered it most advisable to adjourn the



Assembly for a week in order to give him time to bring back his recalcitrant followers to the fold of the Coalition Party. He further stated that he had no quarrel with his colleagues and that he was determined to take firm steps against the mischief-mongers—so everyone was satisfied. The Governor [was] silenced. Our Ministers [were] elated over the victory they had scored! I and the few of my way of thinking were laughed at. Their tactics had won them the battle. Had they not settled the quarrel in the All India [Muslim League] Working Committee, Huq would never have agreed to make peace and to bring back harmony into the province. So all was well. The Coalition Party minus the Progressives met at the house of the Nawab of Dacca at 4.30 p.m. on the 26th instant. The Ministers narrated the whole story of their achievement step by step. How they had outmanoeuvred Huq and his upstarts. We then marched off to Nawab Musharaff Hosain's house at 7.30 p.m. where a full meeting of the Coalition Party was called. We went there very strong—to swamp the opposition if they attempted any pranks. Fazlul Huq arrived. His followers looked dejected. Suddenly he and [Huseyn] Shaheed disappeared in an ante-room and there they remained closeted for half an hour. Huq then entered the meeting room, took the chair and immediately made a statement. It ran thus—Gentlemen, I am happy to meet you all. I am making a proposal that I am sure will gladden your hearts and burn the hearts of our enemies. I propose to move an adjournment of the Assembly tomorrow, for a week, in order that I may compose the few differences that are unfortunately still left uncomposed. I do not doubt that I shall have your support in achieving my aim, for with amity and concord re-established, we will face anyone or several groups. All cried yes, we agree. The 'Saviour' had spoken—who, friend or foe, could challenge him?

Again our friends patted themselves on their backs and smiled, for had not Huq betrayed his followers by saying that he would herald in a new era of peace and loyalty?

On the 27th November, the Assembly met and according to plan, adjourned till the 8th of December.

The same night the Progressives met and clamoured for a break. The next day they met again in Huq's house with Huq in the chair and once again shouted for a definite break.

Our men got worried because while we sat idle Huq kept himself busy. We met last night and decided that further inaction on our part would so degenerate the position that we would soon find it



impossible to get out of the mess. There was a demand for action. An ultimatum had to be given to Huq. He had to select once and for all and this latest by the morning of 2nd December. Our men realised that while Nero<sup>2</sup> was trusting in God and playing the harp, Rome was on fire. Fighting speeches were made with the result that our plenipotentiaries were directed to force the issue without further procrastination and were told that no extension of time would be given even if they came to the party with folded hands.

We broke up last night at 8. We woke up this morning to be faced by ■ *fait accompli*—a coalition between Huq, [Sarat] Bose, Congress, Praja and the independent Schedule Caste. Huq asked for time not to bring back his men to the fold of the Coalition but to fix up with Wardha. The mandate reached Calcutta last night and so out came the conspiracy that had been hatched for many months.

It seems that we have been outmanoeuvred. Our top men now stand aghast. Huq has betrayed them, the Coalition, the Governor and the Musalmans of the Province. He has sold Muslim interests to the Hindus. The four and a half years' Muslim uplift will now come to an end. Unfortunate are the Musalmans of Bengal.

It is noon now. Nazim & Co are still at Government House. I have requisitioned a meeting of the Working Committee of the Provincial League to consider the present situation and to take necessary action against the Leaguers who are driving ■ wedge in the Muslim solidarity.

We must force the issue today. The resignations of the League Ministers must be handed in today. No time must now be given to Huq to consolidate his position any further. Now the war is on. Huq has gained a tactical advantage. However, our cause is just and *Allah* will help us. Please be ready to help. We shall fight, *Insha Allah*, to the last man.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
HASSAN

PS. [Abul Kalam] Azad will be released tomorrow. He will make a dash for Bengal. He can do plenty of mischief—so there is all the more need for swift action on our part.

HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 238.

<sup>2</sup>Nero Claudius Caesar, Roman Emperor (AD 54-68).

248

*Mahmood Shariff to M. A. Jinnah**F 1099/332-3*

241 AVENUE ROAD,  
BANGALORE CITY,  
30 November 1941

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 11th instant.<sup>1</sup> The Working Committee of the [All Mysore State] Muslim League regretfully noted that your engagements did not permit you to go over to Mysore to guide the deliberations of the third session of the All Mysore State Muslim League and grace the occasion with your presence. We realise that your responsibilities in connection with the All India [Muslim League] organisation are very onerous and in the circumstances it is hard for you to spare some time for us. At the same time we respectfully draw your attention to the fact that Mysore presents a sad spectacle from the Muslim point of view, specially in the changed circumstances consequent on the death of His Highness the Maharaja, who was deeply sensible of the loyalty of the Muslims to his person and throne and whose sympathies with Muslim claims were without any question. At present Congress and Mahasabhaite influences have been so prominent that if things are allowed to continue, the interest of the Muslims will be in jeopardy. This state of affairs is due to the fact that outside influences have been working with the deliberate object of undermining Muslim interests. In these circumstances, it is essential that the visit of prominent Muslim leaders from outside is of paramount importance inasmuch as it will imbibe confidence in[to] the Muslim masses here and act also as a check on the nefarious activities of the opposite party. As the eyes of the Musalmans of India, including those of the States, are fixed on you, and as Mysore League has always sought guidance and inspiration from you, may I request that you will kindly save the situation by sparing for us some time and coming to us for at least a day or, in [the] alternative, send some responsible member of your Working Committee, preferably Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib or Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, so that their [*sic* for his] presence might be telling.

Further, I request you to send us a message<sup>2</sup> on the occasion so that our proceedings, attended with your blessings, may be productive of the greatest good for the Muslims of Mysore. It may

be noted that the sessions will begin on the 13th December 1941.

Yours sincerely,  
 MAHMOOD SHARIFF  
*President,*  
*[All Mysore State Muslim League]*

<sup>1</sup>F. 1099/309, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 266.

## 249

*Nasarullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 769/265-80*

NAROWAL,  
 DISTRICT SIALKOT,  
 30 November 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

I hope you may be remembering the visit of three men (Zafarullah Malik, Manzurul Haq and Nasarullah Khan) to you at Bombay in September 1941. We requested for financial help and you promised to write to two gentlemen in Punjab in that connection. But later on doubts were created in your mind by certain undesirables. We also kept quiet as the time then was not proper for further stressing on the matter.

Now after two months the atmosphere is again clear and I think that the reports of Mr. Noman may have removed your doubts about us. Secondly, he may have also made the position of Abdussattar Niazi and Ibrahim Chishti, etc. clear to you.

Under these circumstances I dare to draw your attention again to the proposal that we had put before you at Bombay. We four (Sadiq, Manzur, Zafar and Nasarullah) had made up our minds to devote [ourselves] to the propagation of Pakistan and consolidation of Muslim League, at least for four or five years, immediately after leaving the college. That Pakistan Conference which gave a start to Pakistan movement was a first step towards that direction. We were successful there, [and] after that [our] college career came to an end. Rest of the scheme was to be carried out. But there was financial trouble as usual. We knocked at your door. During October and November, finding no response from you, two of us (Sadiq and Manzur) accepted jobs. Now they are well-paid. The rest two, myself and Zafarullah, started [legal] practice. But we find, Sir, that we are not satisfied with our lot although we earn well. There is an inner voice, not of Gandhi type, that keeps us perturbed and



continuously reminding that these days should be spent in striving for so noble a cause as Pakistan. We do feel that earning of money alone is not an object in itself. There are better things in life than acquisition of money. We have realised that whatever we are doing is a sheer waste of time, the reason being that if we attend to our business we cannot work for Pakistan, that being our duty. If we attend to the League work we cannot earn to keep our body and soul together.

These circumstances have compelled me to bring to your notice again the scheme that we put before you at Bombay. After all, can't you support us with a few thousand [rupees]? That money, I assure you, will not be ill-spent. On the other hand we will create a different heaven and earth in Punjab. You will, in the shortest possible time, see the League a living force in Punjab. Punjab organised will not fail to affect the trend in all-India politics and in the neighbouring provinces of Sind and Frontier.

As you may have noticed in politics, can't you try us. We, Quaid, will pluck the stars of heaven to bring thee honour and strength. I request you again to try us.

Present time is a special time in the political history of India; we want to avail [ourselves of] it. In the shortest possible time we want to strengthen our cause and achieve our goal. Hence this impatience on our part.

If you can be kind enough to reconsider that proposal, please give me time at Delhi to see you so that I may put [before you] that Punjab Muslim Students Federation has ceased to be as strong a body as it was when we were there. We wanted to organise it in such a way and so thoroughly as to direct the mind of entire community of Muslim students towards Pakistan.

We had in mind a scheme to bring Sikh students nearer to Pakistan. Our efforts in that direction were not fruitless. We wanted to make the League so strong of which you could feel proud.

I cannot put in here all that we intended to do. There are so many things that can only be talked to you.

One thing I want to make clear is that the money given to us will be returned in another form, in the shape of a purse etc., rather much more than that.

All that I can say is that so many men are [have] tried you, what we intend to do here. If this request of interview is granted, time may be given to me before the 6th December or after the 9th December 1941.

I hope to get ■ reply soon,

Your humble servant,  
NASARULLAH KHAN  
*Pleader*



250

*Begum Aizaz Rasul to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1092/145-6*

JALALPUR HOUSE,  
9 KAISAR BAGH,  
LUCKNOW,  
1 December 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

We were extremely sorry to hear of your illness, and your absence from the Conference here has been the source of the deepest disappointment, but I think that under the circumstances you acted wisely in not coming. Your life is too precious to be risked for such things as meetings and conferences. We sincerely pray that you may live long to guide the destinies of the Muslims of India. I do hope you are quite well and gaining strength now.

I enclose a copy of a resolution passed at the meeting of our Women's Sub-Committee held at my house yesterday about Begum Shah Nawaz. This was the first meeting of the Sub-Committee convened after the disciplinary action taken against her. I have much pleasure in sending this copy for your information.<sup>1</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BEGUM AIZAZ RASUL

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah thanked her for sending him a copy of the resolution. See F.1092/147, QAP. Not printed.

*Enclosure*

*F. 199/331*

LUCKNOW,  
30 November 1941

#### RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Women's Sub-Committee of the All India Muslim League strongly condemns the statement of Begum Shah Nawaz issued on the 9th of September,<sup>1</sup> claiming to be the representative of women in India. This Committee makes it clear that Begum Shah Nawaz is

not a representative of Muslim women and does not enjoy their confidence. Her statement, while wholly unacceptable, is untrue, and she has been guilty of gross breach of indiscipline [*sic* for discipline] by not resigning from the National Defence Council as demanded by the League Executive, whose authority and decisions are to be respected by every member of the Muslim League. Her accusations against the League President regarding the rights of Muslim women under the *Shariat* Law are unjustified and wholly irrelevant to the issues involved. This Committee has implicit faith in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah and approves of the action taken against those members who are guilty of indiscipline. The Committee wants to point out that the struggle for the emancipation of the Muslim women in India is bound up with the struggle of the Muslim nation for the achievement of Pakistan.

BEGUM AIZAZ RASUL  
Secretary,  
Women's Sub-Committee, AIML

<sup>1</sup>Not traced but see No. 107.

## 251

*N. B. Khare to M. A. Jinnah*  
*SHC, CP & Berar II/108*

NAGPUR,  
1 December 1941

My dear Jinnah,

After my return from Delhi, I have been in touch with Syed Abdur Rauf Shah. He is ailing and has authorised, in writing, his Secretary, Mr. Abdur Rehman Khan, MLA, to act and sign the agreement between the Muslim League Party and myself and the common programme also. I have enclosed copies required by Muslim League representative and myself, for favour of your approval; any other suggestions also will be welcomed. I am in touch with other MLAs and the response is good.

Thanking you and expecting a very early reply.<sup>1</sup>

With regards,

Yours sincerely,  
N. B. KHARE

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied that he had not heard from Rauf Shah and that he (Khare) might as well write to him direct. See SHC (1637). Not printed.

*Enclosure**SHC, CP & Berar I/110*NAGPUR,  
1 December 1941

## PREAMBLE

Both the Nazi menace so rampant and so close and the progressive political sterility inside call for ■ radical change of front in the political life of the country already groaning under the weight of ethical obsessions and metaphysical snares and delusions. Law and order in the country hang by the thin thread of Section 93 Government, in the absence of which the country would be neck-deep in chaos with its eyes fixed on the moon looking for non-violence. No country in the world can afford to live in this dangerous dreamland for long. The full grasp of this dream ideology must be smashed and its spell broken. The revival of parliamentary life, so cruelly smothered in infancy, still holds out hope for the redirection of national effort into fruitful channels of life. Howling for democracy for the country and trampling democracy down under foot in the provinces is a piece of lunacy of the false gods heading for a false destiny. 'Back to Parliament' is the beacon light in the face of the storms raging without and within the country.

2. The schism in the communal situation—the yawning gulf—is the creation of those imposters pretending to speak for the country. The hobby-horse of British policy [of] 'divide and rule' has been ridden to death. It is time the candles were turned inward. Divide us the British can, but only to the extent we are divisible. The question now is our own divisibility and not one of the other dividing. The question of communal unity has to be taken in hand. If we don't, nobody will. The situation has dangerously drifted because of the criminal neglect of those who fraudulently converted themselves into a symbolism of all that the country stands for.

3. The proximity of the war clouds rumbling in the neighbourhood and the defence problems of the country have given birth to several questions which no person in [his] senses can afford to pass by. The spurt of industries in response to war supplies, the rapid mechanisation of the Indian army and the marshalling of the resources of the country for purposes of defence are questions eminently fitted for parliamentary discussion and procedure—questions which call for the highest parliamentary metal [mettle] in the country—metal [mettle]

but in cold storage—metal [sic] misguidedly allowed to rust by the Congress. 'Back to Parliament' is the hope.

#### PROGRAMME

- a. To reorganize the agricultural life of the Province on a sounder and stronger basis with a view to exploit[ing] the biggest industry of the Province in the fullest measure.
- b. To institute co-operative credit and to remodel the Co-operative Bank, with which the agricultural life of the Province is so vitally related, with special attention to the problem of rural indebtedness.
- c. To bring about stability in the administration of the Local Bodies in the Province and to inquire into and to remove the causes which have led to the suspension and supersession of these bodies
- d. To promote the industrial development of the Province with reference to war effort.
- e. To review the labour problems in the background of the rise in prices, and the failure of crops.
- f. To review educational system with a view to the military, technical and industrial needs of the Province and to liquidate illiteracy in the masses.
- g. To devise ways and means for the social uplift of the Harijans.
- h. To promote communal harmony and to give fair and just treatment to the minorities.
- i. To create a healthy public opinion and general political consciousness in the Province.

ABDUR REHMAN KHAN  
N. B. KHARE

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*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/114-5*

51 EZRA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
1 December 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The fight is on. The Cabinet have tendered their resignation to the Governor today.



On Saturday, our friends were outmanoeuvred by the clever fox [Fazlul] Huq. They gave him an opportunity to state that he was with the Coalition Party and that he could not sabotage the Cabinet while he remained a Minister. He further stated a lot of nonsense in support of coalition, unity, etc. You must have read this piffle.

Immediately after issuing the statement, he held two meetings of the Progressive Party, several consultations with the [Sarat] Bose and Congress groups, and yesterday morning he presided over the meeting of the Progressive Coalition Party, i.e. Party composed of Huq's men, Proja, the Forward Bloc, Congress and the Independent Schedule-Caste. Also, a report was published in the issue of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of yesterday to the effect that some Ministers had behaved very disrespectfully towards him in the Cabinet meeting and that he could not possibly continue to carry on as Chief Minister unless the Cabinet was purged of its undesirable elements.

In the afternoon, he realised that this report, along with the report of his conducting meetings on the quiet, would place him in the wrong once again and would be construed by the Governor as a breach of faith on his part. He came out with a fresh statement that was released to the press this morning. In this, he stated that the reports were all false. He thought that by this statement he would maintain his position and gain valuable time.

He counted without his host, for we were determined to force the issue today as giving further time was in our opinion fatal because, while we stuck to our undertaking as gentlemen, Huq went ahead with his mission to consolidate his position.

A meeting of the Cabinet was held today. Huq got the ball rolling. He said that he was doing everything in his power to patch up the differences and that he had partly succeeded in his effort. He wanted more time to complete his job. Our representatives laughed. It was a joke that they had all heard before. They replied, "It is out of the question". He then threatened that there was just one alternative and that was resignation of the Cabinet. Our fellows jumped at it and said—"Yes, we agree—we cannot continue in this fashion". All wrote out their resignations and handed them over to the Governor. These have not been accepted so far but it is definite that the resignations will be accepted. The chances are that we shall be called [upon] to constitute the new Government. Let us see.

A meeting of the Provincial [Muslim League] Working Committee will be held tomorrow to take disciplinary action against those members of the League who have joined the Progressive Party—Huq is one of them.

On the 4th instant, a meeting of the Assembly Coalition Party will be held to consider the present situation in Bengal; to consider a censure [motion] to be moved against Huq and others who have betrayed the party; to elect a leader in the place of Huq.

*Insha Allah*, we shall have majority in that meeting and, *Insha Allah*, we shall succeed in throwing out the traitors.

We shall also elect the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Legislature.

The fight is on. It will be a life-and-death struggle. Huq is not a spent force. He has influence and ■ following. The Hindus are almost wholly with him. They are out to divide and crush the Muslims. As I have said before, our cause is just and we shall therefore fight twice as well and twice as bravely.

Just now a tragedy has occurred a few yards away from our office. One of the air display planes has come to grief on one of the roofs of a congested area. The engine failed and the machine came down with a thud. Thousands of men and children are running through Ezra Street to the scene of the accident. If this is the mob mentality of our country, God save us from an air raid, for stampeding will take ■ heavier toll than one hundred enemy bombers.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

## 253

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdus Samad Khan<sup>1</sup>*

NEW DELHI,  
2 December 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th of September<sup>2</sup> handed over to me by Sir Abdoola Haroon, together with your cheque for Rs.100, which you were good enough to send to me and which I am to spend in connection with the Muslim League of which I am the President. I thank you for the unsolicited donation and I thank you still more for the spirit behind it.

The various suggestions that you have made in your letter are all undoubtedly sound and very beneficial, but the difficulty is, as you yourself pointed out, of securing reliable workers for taking charge

and controlling the Fund.

However, I am very thankful to you for the suggestions that you have made. They will receive very careful consideration.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Abdus Samad Khan, Esq.,  
108 G Model Town,  
Lahore

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 29.

<sup>2</sup>No. 159.

## 254

*S. Mahmud to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/336-8*

121 FAYZABAD,  
LUCKNOW,  
2 December 1941

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The members of the Muslim Youth Study Circle were extremely grieved to learn that due to ill-health you could not honour Lucknow by your visit during the Pakistan Conference.

It was with more than mere pleasure that we looked forward to your visit. We looked forward to having in our midst not only our *Rahbar-i-Millat* but also one who has almost changed the very character of our people. History bears incontestable evidence to the fact that amongst us Muslim Indians, for some time past, torpor has been succeeding outbursts of feverish activity with something like sickening monotony; and we cannot overlook the fact that for the first time in the annals of our people, since our fall, the spirit inspired by you in the year 1937 continues day after day, year after year, with ever-increasing enthusiasm.

Naturally, to welcome not only the greatest of our leaders but also one whom posterity has marked out as her very own, we made the best arrangements within our power. Apart from a Study Circle Camp that we organised near the Pakistan *Pandal* itself, and from which speeches were delivered on the microphone by leaders and our members on Pakistan, throughout both the days; apart from the Pakistan manifesto that we issued in honour of your visit; apart



from the meetings and at-homes that we had arranged; we had organised a fitting reception not only at the Lucknow station but from two stations ahead.

Almost all these arrangements and programmes were cancelled on hearing the sad news of your illness. People thought that we were disappointed. They were wrong. It was enough consolation that we had sacrificed all we had done for one for whom we are prepared to sacrifice a hundred times, a thousand such programmes, a million such arrangements.

With renewed hope, with renewed courage, confidence and conviction we look forward to your visit in the near future. We look forward to the day when our Study Circle will proudly announce the time when the Quaid of a hundred million will address its members.

Ever yours obediently,  
S. MAHMUD  
Joint Secretary,  
Musim Youth Study Circle

## 255

*Abdul Matin Choudhry to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

*3 December 1941*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

We are very anxious to learn that you are not keeping good health. Hope you are better now.

I do not know what you have decided about the venue of the annual session of the League. Bengal situation may demand that you hold the League session there. Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan, one of the most influential and energetic leaders in Assam who met you at Lucknow and Bombay, and other workers are very keen that the League session be held in Assam. Provided two months' time is given, they would be ready to organise it. Failing that they want to hold an All-Assam Pakistan Conference on any date that would suit you. It is essential that you should either inaugurate it or preside over it. Could you give us an approximate idea when we can expect you?

Are you thinking of calling any meeting of the Working Committee in view of the Bengal situation and impending development in



Congress politics?

My compliments to Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,  
MATIN

<sup>1</sup>Pirzada, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, 24.

256

*Mohammad Yusuf Khan & Others to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, CP & Berar I/85*

NARSINGHPUR [C. P.],  
3 December 1941

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to bring to your kind notice the following few lines in the interest of the Muslim League, and this requires early action. I most humbly inform you of the mis-happenings which had befallen the Muslims of this Sub-Division.

Narsinghpur is a Sub-Division in the Hoshangabad District. A few years ago, it was ■ District. The total population of the city is approximately 12,000, out of which Muslims are about a quarter of the whole. Though it is only a small town yet from the political point of view it is as important as any city. In short, it seems more under the *Ram raj*.<sup>1</sup>

The Muslims of this locality are fortunate enough to inform you, Sir, that they have assembled under the popular and ancestral banner of the Muslim League since 1937; even before it was organized on provincial basis. We take pride in informing you that when the Muslim League was merely a baby in the cradle, we triumphantly contested the Provincial Assembly by-election of the Saugor, Demoh and Narsinghpur Constituency, defeating the Congress candidate by an overwhelming majority. The late Moulana Shoukat Ali,<sup>2</sup> the bold *Sher-i-Islam*, visited our town twice from the opposite platforms, once when he was in Congress and lastly as a Muslim leader, in connection with the above said by-election.

The Muslims of Gotegaon were so [much] in favour of the Muslim League that not a single Muslim of that locality was a member of the Congress or any other body. On account of this, the Hindus who are in a vast majority forced the poor Muslims to leave the Muslim League and, being unsuccessful in their evil object, they were engaged in, and, in the month of March 1941, they violently raided

the houses of the Muslims inflicting serious injuries on the person, property and the chastity of men and women. One poor Muslim was so seriously beaten that he died. They boycotted very rashly and when the circumstances took an unbearable phase, half of the Muslim population fled from the town. Secretary of the Primary Muslim League Goteagaon also fled away.

District Muslim League, Narsinghpur, pleaded the cause of the Muslims of Goteagaon before the Provincial Muslim League which only gave a deaf-ear to the humble request. The treacherous anti-Muslim Leaguers in the guise of patriotic Muslims got an opportunity to canvass against the Muslim League among the Muslims. Now-a-days, we are placed in an awkward position because there is something like a revolt in the Muslim quarters against the Muslim League.

Taking advantage of the above circumstances and the neglect and cowardice of the Provincial Muslim League, a section of the Muslims including some of the members of the Muslim League have formed a separate committee under the name, the Muslim Committee. They pretend to establish unity, harmony and equality amongst all the classes, poor and rich, of the Muslims.

Is it advisable that such a nominal committee should be formed in the presence of the Muslim League Committee, which is already practising its beneficial programme of establishing unity, harmony and equality amongst the Muslims and raising their religious, social, cultural and political status in this country?

We hope that you will write to us a few lines in reply and oblige. A letter has already been sent to the President, Provincial Muslim Leagues, C. P. and Berar, on 24 November 1941 but no reply has been received as yet.

Yours obediently,  
 MOHAMMAD YUSUF KHAN  
*President,*  
*Narsinghpur Muslim League*  
*and eight other signatories*

<sup>1</sup>Rule by Rama, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu, one of the Hindu triad worshipped as the preserver of the universe; Utopian governance.

<sup>2</sup>Brother of the more famous Moulana Mohammad Ali; Khilafat leader; died 1938.

257

*M. A. Jinnah to A. M. K. Dehlavi**F. 256/127*NEW DELHI,  
3 December 1941

My dear Dehlavi,

Many thanks for your letter of the 15th November.<sup>1</sup> I welcome your frank criticism although I do not agree with you. However, besides your forecast of the dark and fearful present and future, you have thrown no light on the subject and have made no constructive suggestion.

Assuming you are right that 'my digs,' as you call them, at the Viceroy and Sapru have created a very serious situation and that they must rebound on us and have their repercussions, may I expect from you any definite course that you think we should adopt, in order to correct the 'grave mistake' that I have committed? Surely you ought to understand things better. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is playing a deep game and he is no better than any other Hindu leader. His attitude and his advocacy of his policy are far more dangerous towards the Muslim League than many realise. Also, the tendency of Lord Linlithgow is pro-Hindu, because in these days the stronger is always feared and respected when it comes to choice.

Instead of our bemoaning and whining, if the Musalmans, specially some of the members of the intelligentsia, were to realise the gravity of the issue that is before us and put their shoulders to the wheel and organise, consolidate and strengthen the Muslim League, things will not look as dark as they do now.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 221.

258

*M. A. Jinnah to Badruddin Ahmed Siddiky**F. 566/24*NEW DELHI,  
4 December 1941

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter of the 27th November 1941.<sup>1</sup> By now you must have all realised that Mr. Fazlul Huq is impossible. The only course open to the Musalmans of Bengal is to unite and fight him to the finish. You cannot trust him for even 24 hours. What more can I say?

I am very glad to read your letter and the spirit and enthusiasm behind it. Solidarity of Bengal Muslims is the only answer to our opponents.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAHBadruddin Ahmed Siddiky, Esq.,  
1 Kazemuddin Siddiky Lane,  
Dacca<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

259

*Badruddin Ahmed Siddiky to M. A. Jinnah**F. 451/1*1 KAZEMUDDIN SIDDIKY LANE,  
DACCA,  
4 December 1941

Revered Sir,

Please accept my and my organisation's hearty congratulations on your speedy recovery from recent illness.

Attached herewith is a copy of a resolution passed by the Muslim students of Dacca University in a general meeting of the said body on 3.12.41, under the auspices of the Students' Pakistan League, for your information.



We hope to hear from you very soon on the Bengal ministerial tangle.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,  
B. A. SIDDIKY

*Enclosure*

F. 451/2-3

3 December 1941

The Muslim students of Dacca University have watched with great anxiety the heinous move of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq and his Progressive Party in wrecking the League coalition ministry in Bengal. His success in doing that is considered as one of the greatest national calamities that have ever befallen the Muslims of Bengal—nay that [*sic* for those] of India.

The Muslim students of Dacca University strongly condemn Mr. Huq's latest move in trying to form a coalition ministry in Bengal with the co-operation of Congress-cum-Hindu Mahasabha parties in the Bengal Legislative Assembly—parties who are out to wreck the Communal Award and to trample upon Muslim interests and break the Muslim League in Bengal and elsewhere.

The Muslim students of Dacca University urge upon Mr. Huq to refrain from making a coalition ministry with the help of the said parties, for this will go against all interests of the Musalmans of Bengal.

In case he forms a coalition ministry composing the Congress and Mahasabha parties, he will do so against the united will of the Musalmans of Bengal, and he is warned before-hand that Muslim Bengal shall not tolerate his mischievous action.

This meeting of the Muslim students of Dacca University requests the Muslim League members of Bengal Legislative Assembly to refrain from giving Mr. Huq any support, whatsoever, in forming a Progressive-cum-Congress and Hindu Mahasabha ministry and breaking Muslim solidarity. In case any League member violates this united request of Muslim students, they will take the matter in their own hands and exert their last ounce of influence in keeping the solidarity of the Muslim League.

This meeting of the Muslim students of Dacca University requests Mr. M. A. Jinnah to take necessary action for keeping the solidarity of the League in Bengal.

B. A. SIDDIKY

## 260

*Mohammad Yosuf to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

URDU KOTHI,  
JAUNPUR,  
4 December 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was grieved to find that you could not come to Lucknow conference as I was looking forward to meeting you at Lucknow. It was a matter of great regret and anxiety to us all. However, I was glad that you did not take the risk of coming to Lucknow. Your health is of vital importance to us and I hope you will take care of your health more and leave the work to be done by us under your instructions. Changes in the political situation in India seem to be ominous as is clearly indicated by Bengal and Orissa situation. I am sure you will take fresh stock of the situation and be ready to meet the situation with new solutions conceived in a spirit of compromise, vis-a-vis the Government and the Hindus, leaving the future problem of evolving a constitution in accordance with our fundamental principles till after the War. To-day's problem is the question of re-adjustment of relations with the British Government and the Hindus with a view to evolving temporary war-time arrangements which may create a better atmosphere for composing our differences with Hindus in future. Bengal problem must be solved and some *via media* must be found to save the situation even at the risk of our not having things settled entirely to our satisfaction. Internal disruption has a serious repercussion with demoralising effect upon the community. The solidarity of the League must be maintained and personal interest should not be allowed to come into play while equal opportunities should be given to those who are willing to serve in a spirit of service and sacrifice, with recognition of the merit of those who serve you and the League loyally. The spirit of co-operation must be the watchword and not a spirit of scramble or elbowing out each other inside the League. The spirit of *Akhuwwat* (brotherhood), rather than sectional or factional spirit, should be allowed to hold sway inside the League. If the League is to represent the whole community, barring the recalcitrants and self-seekers, then the spirit of that tolerance which you have so generously shown to Mr. Huq should inspire us all in the higher interests of the community. Bearing in mind the human nature, reward and encouragement

must also be there for those who have service and sacrifice with them, not to mention merit which alone can maintain and win the respect of the Government and the people for the community. Praying for your early complete recovery to guide the Musalmans in the right direction in this difficult and baffling world situation which will influence and control the destiny of our community, this country and the world.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD YOUSUF  
*Nawab; Knight*

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 336-7.

## 261

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani*

*F. 306/116*

NEW DELHI,  
4 December 1941

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you very much for it. Please keep me in touch.

Nazimuddin telephoned me yesterday and I am glad that you are all determined to fight and that you are forming a Muslim League Party in the Legislature. Nazimuddin told me that he will either wire or telephone me the result. I can then decide what I can do to help you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

M.A.Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,  
51 Ezra Street,  
Calcutta

<sup>1</sup>No. 252.

## 262

*Proceedings of CP & Berar Muslim League Assembly Party Meeting**SHC, CP & Bearar II/123**4 December 1941*

A meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party was held at Amraoti at the residence of Mr. Mohammad Sharfuddin, Vice-President of the Provincial Muslim League, with Mr. S. A. Rauf Shah, Leader of the Party, in the chair. The following members were present.

*[Names omitted]*

## 2. Papers read:

- i. Letters from Messrs. S. W. Rizwi, Iftikhar Ali and Mir Gulam Ahmad Hasan and the telegram from K. S. Syed Yasin.
- ii. Report of the talk and negotiations of Khan Sahib Abdur Rehman Khan with Dr. N. B. Khare, and [W. V.] Grigson, Secretary to the Governor.
- iii. The terms of coalition between the Muslim League Party and Dr. N.B Khare's Group in the Assembly.
- iv. The programme of Dr. Khare's Group drafted by K. S. Abdur Rehman Khan under the instruction of Dr. Khare.

3. K. S. Abdur Rehman Khan gave an account of the talk he had with Dr. Khare and Mr. Grigson in connection with the promotion of a coalition ministry by the opposition groups in the Provincial Assembly.

4. K. S. Abdur Rehman Khan's report was discussed and adopted unanimously.

5. The terms of coalition were discussed and approved.

6. The items of the programme were discussed and found to be generally acceptable, but the final decision on this question is deferred till the final views of Dr. Khare are known in this connection.

7. Resolved unanimously that the leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, Mr. S. A. Rauf Shah, is authorised to enter into further negotiations with Dr. Khare and His Excellency the Governor and submit the result of the negotiations with necessary papers for the information and approval of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League.

8. This meeting puts on record its sense of appreciation of the pains taken by K. S. Abdur Rehman Khan in this connection.

S. A. RAUF SHAH  
 ABDUR REHMAN KHAN  
 HIDAYAT ALI  
 M. M. HAQUE



## 263

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/117-19*

51 EZRA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
4 December 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just now had the pleasure of speaking to you over the telephone. As the time at my disposal was very short and as I had to cover much ground, I hope I expressed myself clearly.

Since the last two days the position amongst ourselves, that is within the Muslim League Party, was becoming a little uncomfortable because the Nawab of Dacca was displaying some amount of anxiety, although latent to a great extent, of becoming the leader of the Bengal Legislature Muslim League Party. This was indeed a very difficult problem for us to tackle, a problem much more difficult than coalescing with other groups and parties in order to form the government.

When Nazimuddin spoke to you yesterday I was sitting beside him. There is every hope that the Congress may decide either to support us or abstain from opposing us, because they realise that with Sarat Bose's nominees in the Cabinet, much damage to the official Congress may be done in the Province.

This morning, we met to form the party and to elect our leader in a tense atmosphere. The Nawab was very much upset because he was told by the leader and the whip of the European Group in the Assembly that he should not stand for the leadership of the party, because, if elected, there was a chance of other interests who would agree to work under the leadership of Sir Nazimuddin not joining us. He was so upset that he wanted to leave the place of gathering, which was the Assembly, and go away. Every effort was made to pacify him and to raise him to the seventh heaven. Finally, Nazimuddin took him into a room and they remained closeted for fifteen minutes. Then the party met and both Nazimuddin and the Nawab were also present. We were 58 in number and several Muslim Leaguers who have already subscribed their signatures to the formation of the Muslim League Legislature Party were not present as they were out of town. We unanimously agreed to form ourselves into a party.

The second item on the agenda was the election of a leader. At this stage I considered it necessary to bring about an atmosphere of calm, confidence and peace to make a short statement. I congratulated the members present for having formed themselves into the Muslim League Legislature Party and told them that it was the ambition of some of us, however few they were, to see the dawn of such a day. I then took the liberty of conveying to those assembled a message from you adding that as an official statement would be issued by you from Delhi, it was not at all necessary to record what I had to say. That you had conveyed to us all your greetings and blessings. That you welcomed the formation of the Muslim League Legislature Party. That you had no doubt, whatsoever, in your mind that we shall elect our leader today and that the person so elected by the party will have the unflinching support of the entire party through thick and thin—through success and adversity. That you thought that *Insha Allah* there could not be any adversity. That you declared that the fight is on and therefore there cannot be, at any stage, even the thought of a retreat or compromise. That you stated our cause to be just and that *Allah* was with us. You asked us to go right ahead fearlessly and assured me that on receipt of information, that the Muslim League Legislature Party had been formed and a leader had been elected, you would issue a suitable appeal and public statement.

It had the psychological effect that I anticipated. Members were very much heartened and responded gloriously. No names for leadership were proposed as it was decided that every member had the right to vote for anyone he chose, including himself, as leader of the party. Voting was by secret ballot. Khan Bahadur Momin was appointed the Presiding Officer. It was decided that after the balloting Khan Bahadur Momin would just declare the person who had secured the most votes duly elected as Leader of the Party without giving the number of votes or the number of candidates that stood for election. It was further decided that after the declaration all the ballot papers would be destroyed. After the balloting, the Khan Bahadur entered the room where members were assembled to hear the result. He declared Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin elected Leader of the Party and in doing so he faithfully pledged to accept him as his leader and to follow him without reservation. Moulana Mohammad Akrum Khan who was President of the meeting also delivered a very long and religious speech which also had great effect on those assembled. Sir Nazimuddin made a suitable and brief reply.

The next item on the agenda was the formation of a sub-committee

to draft the rules, programme and policy of the party.

The last item was whether we should attend the Coalition meeting (old Coalition now defunct) called by the Leader of the Coalition, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, for this evening. It was decided that whether Fazlul Huq and his men came or not, we should attend the meeting this evening in full force in order to unseat him from the leadership, and if necessary, pass a vote of no-confidence in him for the treachery that he has perpetrated on the Musalmans of this Province.

Our newspapers are going full speed ahead with their propaganda. Mr. Fazlul Huq's statement that was published in the newspapers today, which you told me you had read in Delhi, is, in my opinion, one of the feeblest statements issued under his signature. He considers himself still to be the leader of the Muslim League and the President of the Muslim League of the Province. He goes on to congratulate those Muslim Leaguers who have stood by him in his treachery. I am confident that you will, in the statement that will be issued, tell the Musalmans that the Muslim League has not countenanced and will not tolerate treachery.

I have no further report to give you. We are doing everything in our power to see that Fazlul Huq does not raise his head. It is of course in the hands of God as to how far we shall succeed. Suffice it to say that the prospects are fairly hopeful.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

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*Evelyn Wrench<sup>1</sup> to J. G. Laithwaite<sup>2</sup>*

*IOLR, L/P&J/8/509*

C/O BRITISH RESIDENT,  
HYDERABAD STATE,  
4 December 1941

Dear Sir Gilbert,

I am venturing to enclose my recollection of an hour and a half talk with M. A. Jinnah, which I had before leaving Delhi, as I thought you might be interested. I have sent it to Jinnah to see whether he agrees with my record of the conversation. After hearing some of the



views I have listened to, it was satisfactory to hear from his lips that he was quite satisfied to work loyally within the Commonwealth. All the time he kept talking of the evolutionary process in Canada.

If there is no objection, I propose sending the record of our talk to the *Spectator* in London and I hope to follow it up next week with the account of my talk with Gandhi, with whom we hope to stay at the week-end.

I thought I might just mention to you informally the views of the Maharaj-Rana here. He thinks the whole value of the Defence Council if its object is to stimulate the part of the Indian Princes in the war efforts—is being lost owing to [the] fact that only half [the number] of Princes meet every two months, which means that they only attend every 6 months and there is therefore no continuity. He thinks [that] to be of any real use, a group of Princes should meet at least once a month and only those should be invited to join who would attend regularly. I did not think it worth writing formally to Sir Henry Craik,<sup>3</sup> but just mention [the] matter for what it is worth to you. Needless to say I made no mention that I would pass on his views to any one.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
E. WRENCH

<sup>1</sup>Editor, the *Spectator*, London.

<sup>2</sup>Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

<sup>3</sup>Political Adviser to the Crown Representative.

*Enclosure*  
*Note By Evelyn Wrench*

IOLR, L/P&J/8/509

2 December 1941

I had an hour and a half's very frank talk with Mr. Jinnah yesterday. I was pleasantly surprised to learn from him that he is quite ready to accept the status of a 'Dominion' within the British Commonwealth, recognizing the necessity for foreign affairs and defence to be 'reserved' subjects, to be controlled by the central organisation under the Viceroy. He was most vehement and positive that the Muslim population of India, for the majority of whom he spoke, would never consent to be participant in any scheme which insured permanent Hindu domination of all India.

He believes that the only basis of settlement in India would be the creation of five large zones, each of which to be self-governing, apart



from foreign policy and defence; to be similar in status to, say, the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, before the passing of the British North American Act in 1865 or similar to Ontario and Quebec to-day. He several times harped back to the example of Canada, and how political power gradually grew. The two Muslim zones would be, the North-West Zone, including Sind, Baluchistan, Punjab as far as Ambala, ■ territory in which, according to the 1930 census, there is a Muslim population of 70 per cent; the second zone would be North-Eastern India, including Bengal and Assam, in this territory between 55 and 60 per cent of the population is Muslim. The rest of India would be divided into the three large zones which would be predominantly Hindu, with a population approximately of 230,000,000. He would propose to leave the Indian States as they are. He thinks the Hindus should be satisfied with this vast territory and a population nearly double that of the United States!

This is a record of the talk, so necessarily there is some repetition. He said, in no possible system that can be devised, which entails a permanent Hindu majority, would Muslim India consent to participate. It is ridiculous for people like [Tej Bahadur] Sapru to talk about all-India patriotism; in everything that matters in daily life, from morning to evening, the Muslims are antagonistic to the Hindus. He quoted a saying of Gandhi even, in which the Mahatma said, that many Hindus would "rather die than accept a cup of water from a Musalman". He thinks it is perfectly sound to partition India, in fact it is the only way to get a political system working. He thinks it is not necessary to arrange all the details of partition before the settlement, and quoted the example of Ireland, and Burma and Sind, decided on by the Round Table Conference. The two Muslim zones would roughly contain a quarter of the population of India with sixty-five million Muslims and thirty-five million non-Muslims. He described the five zones that he had in mind as being "practically enlarged Indian States".

The first person to mention to me the idea of dividing India [in] five big zones or states, similar to Australian or Canadian provinces, was Sir Firoz Khan Noon.

Mr. Jinnah repudiated the idea of including Afghanistan in the North-West zone, but he stated that naturally the relations between Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Arabia, and India would naturally be close. He does not think that those Muslim States will become materialistic, similar to Turkey, because what brought down the fall of the Muslim religion in Turkey, was the *Khilafat*, which was quite behind the times. He reiterated his belief in the evolutionary

principle, bringing Canada to its present status within a hundred years.

He kept on repeating "You will never have a workable federal constitution for all India, I see no alternative to my scheme, in trying to make all India one Dominion you are attempting the [im]possible. We have no ill-will against the Hindus but they are fundamentally different from us. Our fundamental way of life, our laws, our jurisprudence, differ." When I suggested that the Muslims originally were Hindus", he said "You can't go back a thousand years. We are governed by Mohammedan laws, the law of succession is different, affecting inheritance, the entire economic basis of our life is different. Germany is nearer to you than the Hindu is to the Muslim."

He said "As you know, in my young days, I was a member of Congress, but by degrees I realised the insuperable barriers that divide Muslim from Hindu." He emphasized an instance in his own life; he had been very friendly with the Hindu leader, Pundit [Madan Mohan] Malaviya. One evening Jinnah and his wife were dining when M[alaviya] came to see them, so he said to M[alaviya], "I know you can't eat with us but won't you sit at the table while we finish?" But M[alaviya] remained standing and said it was not possible. Then Jinnah said to him, "Won't you then take a seat away from the table?" But M[alaviya] again demurred and said that he could not sit on the same carpet on which the table stood, while they were eating, so the problem was finally settled by their rolling the carpet up and place a chair on the cleared space!

He said, "The whole conception of our religion is that of brotherhood; we cannot understand the Hindu caste system. For instance, on Fridays, when I drive to the mosque, my chauffeur comes in and kneels beside me; at the end of the service we embrace each other as brothers. Take your British soldiers in India; any Musalman would eat with them, but not so the Hindus. A certain way of bringing about civil strife would be to transfer the powers of the British Parliament to a central cabinet in India. If you think this is the solution of the Indian problem you are living in a fool's paradise".

He thinks the ignorance of people in Great Britain concerning the Muslim point of view is a real danger, and fears that the British electorate may get so puzzled that it may make some unwise move. He says that Muslim India is not obsessed by any *Swaraj* principles, and in the two Muslim zones the governments would be quite ready to discuss with Great Britain economic problems in a friendly spirit. "How are you going to break the present tension?" he asked; "all

this talk about the Hindus being ready to give us a blank cheque is rubbish. What the Hindu proposals, in effect, mean is that we are expected to sign our own death warrant. As far as the Hindu, Sikh and other minorities in our two zones, we would be prepared to give the fullest guarantees.

He thinks that many of the depressed classes are with them and would prefer their rule to that of the Hindus. He drew attention to the fact that no Hindu household employs Musalmans as servants, within the home, in case of a chauffeur or outside servant, he must not enter the dwelling. "On the other hand, we Muslims employ Hindus; in my Bombay house I employ five Hindus, one Christian, and three Muslims". The large business houses which are Hindu hardly ever employ Muslims. He thinks, so long as the Muslim point of view is not understood, the Muslims are really supporting the war effort more than their self-respect should permit. If the Parliament met the Muslim point of view, they would give the utmost co-operation in the prosecution of the War. "For we both believe in the same things; within the framework of the present constitution give us a place in the Centre."

## 265

*S. A. Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, CP & Berar II/115*

AMRAOTI,  
6 December 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The news of your illness had caused anxiety to all your friends and followers. By the grace of God, you must have, by this time, fully recovered from your ailment. May the Almighty keep you healthy and strong to lead the Muslim India to the goal of salvation.

Since my return from Delhi, in spite of my bad health, I have been moving from place to place in connection with Amraoti riots enquiry and cases. I had been twice to Nagpur also to help the students in obtaining a suitable *pandal* and other arrangements for the Conference. It is a matter of great satisfaction that Nawab Siddique Ali Khan has come to Nagpur and is attending to the Conference work. Mr. Noman's presence also is badly required there.

I hope unfortunate Amraoti riots and unexpected failure of crops



throughout the Province will not prove un-surmountable obstacles in the way of the Conference.

Dr. Khare met me twice and once I had sent Khan Sahib Abdur Rehman Khan to him when I could not personally go owing to indisposition. Herewith are enclosed for your information copies of the correspondence<sup>1</sup> that took place between Dr. Khare and myself and K. S. Abdur Rehman Khan, copies of terms of coalition<sup>2</sup> and programme of work agreed to by Dr. Khare<sup>3</sup> and copies of the minutes of the Muslim MLAs' meeting held on the 4th instant<sup>4</sup> and report of Khan Sahib Abdur Rehman Khan's visit to Nagpur.<sup>5</sup> I assure you that no further step will be taken by the Muslim League party without your permission and approval of the programme of work and terms of coalition submitted herewith. I shall keep you informed of further developments.

Dr. Khare also must have written to you in that connection. Dr. Khare is moving heaven and earth to secure a majority. He has been, naturally, encouraged by the formation of the Orissa Ministry.

I hope you will oblige me by an early reply.<sup>6</sup>

With best regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
S. A. RAUF SHAH

<sup>1</sup>See SHC, CP & Berar II/116-20, 122. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See SHC, CP & Berar II/109. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>Enclosure to No. 251.

<sup>4</sup>No. 262.

<sup>5</sup>Not traced.

<sup>6</sup>See No. 274.

## 266

*M. A. Jinnah to Mahmood Shariff*

*F. 1099/343*

NEW DELHI,  
6 December 1941

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 30th November<sup>1</sup> and I am glad to learn that the All Mysore State Muslim League is holding its third session on the 13th of December 1941. I wish you all success.

As for the message, I would repeat the one contained in my presidential address to the sessions of the All India Muslim League



at Lahore, March 1940, which runs as follows:

Friends, I want you to make up your mind definitely and then think of devices to organise your people, strengthen your organisation and consolidate the Musalmans all over [India]. I think that the masses are wide awake. They only want your guidance and your lead. Come forward as servants of Islam, organise the people economically, socially, educationally and politically, and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Mahmood Shariff, Esq.,  
President,  
All Mysore State Muslim League,  
Mysore

<sup>1</sup>No. 248.

## 267

*M. A. Jinnah to S. A. M. Hadi Naqshbandi<sup>1</sup>*

NEW DELHI,  
6 December 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th of November,<sup>2</sup> and I am glad to learn that Aligarh Muslim Students' Federation is going to start its own paper, the first issue of which is coming out on 8th of December 1941.

As for the message, I would refer you to my Lahore speech at the sessions [22-24 March 1940] of the All India Muslim League:

I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us. Do you realise how big and stupendous it is? Do you realise that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all the countries in the world have been the pioneers of all movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people you will never realise your aim.

I wish you all success in your venture and hope that your paper

will be a medium for the uplift of the Musalmans generally and of the intelligentsia in particular.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

S. A. M. Hadi Naqshbandi, Esq.,  
General Secretary,  
Aligarh Muslim Students' Federation,  
Aligarh

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 31-2.

<sup>2</sup>Not traced.

## 268

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/120-1*

51 EZRA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
8 December 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 4th instant.<sup>1</sup>

The unexpected has happened at a very bad time. The Nawab of Dacca [Habibullah Khan], contrary to his pledges and undertakings given to you and to everyone of us, has betrayed our cause, and after issuing an absurd statement, has gone over to the enemy. We are all shocked but in war we have got to take the good with the bad and carry on. His statement and resignation were released at a very crucial moment, and I have not the least doubt that better brains than the Nawab decided when and how the statement should be issued.

The Governor accepted the resignation of the Ministry yesterday and is meeting, for the last time, the leaders of the various groups today. It was almost certain last night that the Governor would commission someone to form the next Ministry by this evening. Our case is a very difficult one indeed, because every Caste Hindu in the Legislative Assembly excepting Sir Bejoy Singh has forsaken us although prior to this break there were not more than four Caste Hindus who supported the Ministry in non-communal matters and when matters that had the slightest communal touch were put to the

vote, the Caste [Hindu] Ministers only walked into the lobby with us. They have joined hands with Fazlul Huq to smash our solidarity and to undo all the goods that we did to the unfortunate Musalmans of the Province for four and half years. The chances up-till two days ago were 60:40 in our favour—that Sir Nazimuddin would be called to form the Cabinet. With this, gradual deterioration and gigantic conspiracy backed by the thunderings of the Hindu press, have perhaps to some extent modified or softened the Governor's resolve. Last night the chances seemed to be equal if not slightly in favour of Huq being called to form the Ministry.

Again, a bombshell has burst this time not on Bengal but on the whole of India. News came through London at 4 this morning that Japan had declared war on Great Britain and U.S.A. and that Japanese forces were occupying certain ports of China and were causing damage and destruction in both Hawaii<sup>2</sup> and the Philippines. The war is, therefore, at the door of India and the door of India for the purpose of Japan is Bengal. It will be represented to the Governor that it is now for him to decide whether he wants a homogeneous and reliable team of men to work in these critical times or he would call in and entrust the destiny of the Province and the British Government in the hands of unreliable and irresponsible men like Huq and others whose object has been to undermine the constitution and to wreck it and the leaders of which have clearly and unequivocally uttered their hostility to the War and the efforts made in its respect. I am quite sure that in the emergency that faces India today, the Governor will have to think seriously ten times before he decides to change horses in the midstream, particularly when the international current is flowing so swiftly. Nazimuddin has earned a reputation for handling the Home portfolio and the Governor, bearing in mind the complete change in the international situation overnight, runs the risk of allowing important portfolios like Home to slip into the hands of those whose object it is to usher in disruption from all sides and to undermine the entire constitution. This will be Sir Nazimuddin's strongest point that God has delivered to us when he meets the Governor today. The other point will be the resolution of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League published in today's newspapers<sup>3</sup> calling upon Huq to behave himself and not to bring about disruption in our ranks. The views of Punjab must count today because Punjab still is the recruiting centre of the Indian armed forces. Further, as the Muslim League truly represents the Muslim political interests in India as all the by-elections have shown, particularly in Bengal, the Governor cannot brush us aside lightly by



saying that Fazlul Huq also has a Muslim following. We hold that those who have gone with Fazlul Huq and have joined in his treachery have done so only because they are assured that a general election will not be held. Had the sword of general election hung over their necks they would not have dared to defy the League and its authority in the manner they have done. We are working day and night, at times without food and rest. Every effort is being made to save the position even at this late hour.

I am replying to Fazlul Huq's statements which are full of falsehoods, today.<sup>4</sup> The old fox who is now called the black sheep of Barisal, [South-East Bengal], is playing at one game only and that is to gain time until he forms his Cabinet and to prevent the All India Muslim League from forcing the issue and declaring him a traitor.

Had our leaders in the Province not deceived themselves for so many years and had they listened to the advice of a few of us we would not have been called upon to face the present critical situation. No useful purpose will however be served by crying over spilt milk. We have got to take conditions as they are and try and make the best of them.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 261.

<sup>2</sup>The US naval base at Pearl Harbour in Hawaii was attacked by Japan on 7 December 1941, causing the US to enter the Second World War.

<sup>3&4</sup>See Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence 1936-1948*, notes 2 and 3, respectively, 1976, Karachi, 224.

## 269

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hamid Khan*

*SHC, Assam I/2*

NEW DELHI,  
8 December 1941

Dear Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan,

Many thanks for your letter.<sup>1</sup> I am very thankful to you that you people will be ready to organise and welcome the sessions of the All India Muslim League in Assam. I am inclined to think that it is high time that the sessions of the League should be held in Assam. I will



finally let you know within a very short time; and as you require two months' notice, there is time. In the meantime, please let me know what should be the time you suggest, bearing in mind that usually we hold the sessions during the Easter holidays, and also the place that you propose.

If it is decided upon that the League sessions should be held in Assam then the question of Assam Provincial Conference will not arise.

Thanking you again,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan,  
Ghagmari,  
P.O. Fakir Ganj,  
Distt. Goalpara (Assam)

<sup>1</sup>Annex.

*Annex*  
*Abdul Hamid Khan to M. A. Jinnah*  
*SHC, Assam I/1*

GHAGMARI,  
GOALPARA, (ASSAM),  
*Undated 1941*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You may remember that in 1937 when I met you at Lucknow, you very kindly promised to visit Assam when it suited your convenience. You were good enough to repeat the promise when I saw you in Bombay in 1938. You have visited all the provinces except Assam. If we get two months' notice, we shall be ready to organise all-India sessions of the League in Assam. If you propose to hold the League sessions elsewhere, we should like to hold Assam Pakistan Conference in this Province which we expect you to grace by your presence. I shall be grateful if you would please let me know when you can conveniently visit this Province?

Praying to *Allah* for your continued good health,

Yours sincerely,  
ABDUL HAMID KHAN

## 270

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Matin Choudhry*

*SHC, Assam I/4*

NEW DELHI,  
8 December 1941

My dear Matin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant.<sup>1</sup> I am sorry for the delay as I was not well. Many thanks for your kind enquiries. I am glad to say that I am much better now.

Yes, I have received a letter<sup>2</sup> from Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan and I am glad that you people are prepared to welcome the sessions of the All India Muslim League in Assam, provided two months' notice is given to you in advance. I am inclined to accept your invitation, but I will let you know finally. Please let me know in the meantime, what will be the suitable time for holding the sessions in Assam. According to our usual time Easter holidays are the most suitable days. Please also let me know at what place do you propose to hold the sessions.

I am also writing to Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan.<sup>3</sup> I need not say that I am very thankful to you for the invitation to hold the sessions in Assam. I think it is high time that we should go to Assam.

With kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Matin Choudhry,  
Shillong

<sup>1</sup>No. 255.

<sup>2</sup>See Annex to No. 269.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 269.

271

*Badrudin Ahmed Siddiky to M. A. Jinnah**F. 451/4-6*

1 KAZEMUDDIN SIDDIKY LANE,  
DACCA,  
10 December 1941

Revered Sir,

I gratefully acknowledge your kind message dated December 4.<sup>1</sup> This has given a great impetus to Muslim youths of Dacca to work hard for the League.

We have been very anxiously watching the developments in the Bengal politics and your attitude towards it.

As an humble servant of the League, I cannot desist from informing you [about] the repercussions caused among the literate and illiterate classes of Muslims of East Bengal, especially of Dacca which at present is the strongest fort of Muslim League in Bengal, by the resignation of the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca from the League Assembly party. As you know, Sir, that by virtue of the fact that Nawab Habibullah is the son of late Sir Salimullah Bahadur, he holds a great influence among the masses in the Muslim community in East Bengal. Personally also the present Nawab is very popular to [sic for among] all classes of people. When the ministerial crisis arose, it was scented that the Nawab Bahadur was inclined to[wards] Mr. Huq. So it was found desirable in every quarter that he should be made the Muslim League party leader and his interest must be made the same with Mr. Huq—the office of the Chief Minister. But unfortunately this was not done in the Provincial League meeting. So the League has lost a great personality. If after being made the party leader he would have deserted us, we had grounds to denounce him to the public. But now he will add to the strength of Mr. Huq. The Muslims of Dacca are very much disappointed and disheartened at the decision of the Provincial League.

I have been trying my best to meet this point and question [sic] of all concerned, saying that party solidarity and party discipline are all that we must care for, if League is to be kept alive.

Although thrown out of power, the League solidarity would have gained ground and Mr. Huq could have been made absolutely a bankrupt in public life in Bengal, had not this unhappy incident

happened. Now Sir, forgive my impertinence when I say that for the greater good of the community, the Nawab Bahadur has to be brought back within the fold of the League. Otherwise our work in Dacca for the solidarity of the Muslims in the name of the League will be very much hampered. We await your decision and order to proceed in the light of the present situation.

May *Allah* help us to live up to your ideal,

With regards,

I remain, Sir,

Yours obediently,

B.A. SIDDIKY

*President,*

*Dacca Students' Pakistan League*

<sup>1</sup>No. 259.

## 272

*Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

KARACHI MAIL,

MULTAN,

12 December 1941

My dearest uncle,

When I reached the station, I realised how much before time I had left you. The time of departure was not 8.50 p.m. but 9.50. Over and above this, the train was delayed for some reason for another 40 minutes. I did not let the car leave as I was not sure if proper accommodation was available, and he [driver] left the station only when another full bogie was attached for us and some others placed in the same position. So I hope you would not have needed the car while it was waiting at the station.

I forgot to tell you something rather important. Now that the political prisoners have been released, why should Mashriqi be detained any longer? After all he had even gone to the length of offering his Khaksars' services for the prosecution of war, and from the scanty news that finds their [its] way out of Vellore Jail, it is also believed that he (Mashriqi) is ready to come to terms with the Govt. Ahmad Shah is in Delhi and if he could come to see you, some more light could be thrown on this subject. I am only anxious because if



the credit of any settlement could go to the League the individual Khaksar would have greater faith in ■ than in his own organization. Some Khaksars came to see me at the station in Lucknow and asked me to remind you about their plight.

With best compliments from Jamal Mian and myself,

Your loving,  
AMIR

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 338.

## 273

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani*

*F. 306/122*

NEW DELHI,  
13 December 1941

Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you that I have appointed you a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League in the vacancy caused by the removal of the name of Mr. Fazlul Huq.

Please acknowledge receipt and oblige,<sup>1</sup>

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,  
5 Camac Street,  
Calcutta

<sup>1</sup>Ispahani acknowledged the letter with thanks. See F. 311/8, QAP. Not printed.

## 274

*M. A. Jinnah to S. A. Rauf Shah*

*SHC, CP & Berar II/124*

NEW DELHI,  
13 December 1941

Dear Mr. Rauf Shah,

Many thanks for your letter of the 6th of December.<sup>1</sup> I am glad to note all the information that you have given and that no further steps

will be taken by the Muslim League Party without consulting me and that you will keep me informed.

I am coming to Nagpur on the 25th and the meeting of the Working Committee has also been summoned there on the 26th. The whole question will be discussed then.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

S. A. Rauf Shah, Esq.,  
P.O. Pandharkawada

<sup>1</sup>No. 265.

275

*M. A. Jinnah to S. Mahmud*

*F. 1099/347*

10 AURANGZEB ROAD,  
NEW DELHI,  
13 December 1941

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 2 December<sup>1</sup> and copies of the manifesto and thank you for it.

I am extremely sorry I was not able to go to Lucknow owing to my sudden indisposition.

I am glad to note that your manifesto reproduces in the form of a summary what has been explained repeatedly and urged by the All India Muslim League and myself for the last two years.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

S. Mahmud, Esq.,  
121 Fyzabad Road,  
Lucknow

<sup>1</sup>See F. 1099/335, QAP. Not printed.

276

*Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah**F. 392/76-8*

9 GARIAHAT ROAD,  
CALCUTTA,  
14 December 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been so busy during the last fortnight that I have not been able to write to you and give you detailed information. I hope Hassan kept you posted with all the news. I am glad to find that you have nominated Hassan on the Working Committee.<sup>1</sup> I would like to have had Shaheed there, specially as he feels that he has a prior claim to anyone of us. But, under the present circumstances, your decision is a very wise one. We are hopelessly short of funds and our future success depends on our ability to organize which cannot be done without money. Both the Ispahani Brothers are very keen and genuine Leaguers and our main and, perhaps, the only hope. Mirza Ahmed Ispahani has undertaken to find about twenty-five to thirty thousand rupees for organizing the Muslim League in Bengal. He expects to raise this sum from the mercantile community in Calcutta, but I am afraid, in the end he may have to meet practically the whole of it.

Now let me tell you what had happened here. Up to a point everything went according to my plan; that is to say, H.E. [the Governor] and the European Group were supporting us and when it was announced that Messrs. Sarat Bose, Shyama Prasad Mukerjee and others had accepted Mr. Fazlul Huq as leader, H.E. decided that break was inevitable and we were given to understand that we would be called. The only difficulty was that H.E. had so committed himself that he was not prepared to prorogue the Assembly and the Speaker was also not prepared to adjourn the House *sine die*. The latter's attitude was inexplicable and as a Muslim and a Leaguer he disappointed us very much. The break with Mr. Fazlul Huq took place with practically the tacit approval of H.E. and we were given to understand that when the Coalition Party elected the new leader he would be sent for. We then decided to form the Muslim League Legislative Party. We had about 55 to 60 signatures and at the

meeting of the Coalition Party, which was held on the same day, 72 members were present and they unanimously passed a vote of no-confidence in Mr. Fazlul Huq. But suddenly H. E.'s attitude changed and we later came to learn that the non-official Europeans also adopted what may be called a hostile attitude towards us, and it is my personal opinion that the attitude of the non-official Europeans influenced H.E. also. I had long and heated discussions with H.E. and once, after a protracted argument when H.E. could not find any reply to my claim to be sent for, he promised to do so, the next day, provided I was prepared to face the legislature in seven days' time. He asked me to consult my friends and come back the next day. I was definitely given to understand that if I agreed to meet a vote of no-confidence immediately he would give me the first chance. Next morning, I went back with the information that I had received very good response and there was every chance of my forming a stable Ministry and I was prepared to face the legislature according to H.E.'s wishes. He told me that the war news was very bad; that the Japanese had the command of the sea and were able to land troops in Malaya and therefore he wanted to have a War Cabinet; that Mr. Fazlul Huq and I should agree to work together. He insisted on our meeting together. We met and I reported to you over the telephone the gist of the conversation we had. He had been toying with the idea of a War Cabinet and although I pointed out to him that it was neither a practicable nor a feasible proposition yet throughout the day he tried his best to have a War Cabinet. Mr. Fazlul Huq, under the guidance of Mr. Sarat Bose and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, refused to work under Sir Azizul Haque and H.E., therefore, had to drop the idea. After that he definitely made up his mind to send for Mr. Fazlul Huq. The main consideration which led H.E. to this decision was the fact that if he asked me to form the Ministry, his position with the Hindus would be mud. I told him that the Muslims were receiving the same treatment which they got at the time of cancelling the partition of Bengal, which H.E. himself had denounced. I also told him many home truths and pointed out that he was handing over the Government to the fifth-columnists and to persons whom he knew definitely to be anti-British and in favour of Hitler and Japan. But nothing would shake him from the fear of what the Hindu press would say and thus, once again, the Musalmans of Bengal have been let down by the Governor and the non-official Europeans.



The arrest of Mr. Sarat Bose came as a big surprise to everyone, excepting myself, but neither it has improved our position nor has it, in anyway, affected the influence of the subversive elements on the Government of Bengal. Mr. Sarat Bose and his followers know that they have, at last, got the Government of Bengal in their hands and would fully exert every nerve to keep their grip on it. And they have got it at a time when they wanted it most, with Subhas Bose in Germany and Japan knocking at the doors of Burma. It is a chance of a lifetime for the terrorists in Bengal.

We have now got about 50 Muslims in the opposition. There may be addition in our rank after the Ministry is completely formed, when the disappointed ones will come to us, or we may reduce to 40. But *Insha Allah* we will not go below 40 and they will be the solid ones. The public is whole-heartedly with us. There is great indignation at the treachery of Mr. Fazlul Huq and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and the poor Muslim officers are heart-broken and frightened. The student community is highly excited and solidly behind us. An attempt is being made to stop all demonstrations and public meetings on the ground of war emergency. I consider this absolutely unjustifiable, as we are not going to say anything against war; we are not against war efforts, and as long as there is a legislature working, there can be no possible ground for preventing the discussion of matters that are going to come up before the legislature, particularly expression of public opinion on the character of the Ministry. There is going to be a public meeting to-day and I am told that the Commissioner of Police may make an attempt to stop it. The Calcutta public are determined to hold the meeting. We are going to attend in full force and it is possible that we may be arrested. But it is, in my opinion, a life and death question for the Muslims of Bengal and for the organization of the Muslim League. The Hindus have succeeded in dividing us with the help of the 'Mir Jaffars'. We have got to make sacrifices and be prepared for the worse. I am confident that the Muslims of Bengal will be true Muslims and will not fail you and their organization. If Bengal Government and the Governor try to suppress us unlawfully then they will find that Muslims are different now from what they were, and have been in the past. I have heard on the radio, last night, that you have called a meeting of the Working Committee at Nagpur. I think Bengal, at the present time, has a prior claim on you, and the Working Committee meeting at Calcutta is far more

urgent and necessary than at any other place in India. A meeting of the Working Committee at Calcutta will help to rouse the Muslims and counter the effect of Mr. Fazlul Huq's and the Nawab Bahadur's propaganda that they are Muslim Leaguers and that they are loyal to the Muslim League. I know that nobody believes them, specially after the inclusion of Dr. S. P. Mukherjee in the Cabinet, but they have got the press in their hands, and thus have an advantage over us. As far as propaganda is concerned, if the Working Committee meeting is held here then even the Hindu press will have to give publicity to it. I, therefore, most earnestly request you, on behalf of the Muslims of Bengal, to change the venue of the meeting to Calcutta. I am sure you will be flooded with telegrams and requests for this. We consider this of vital importance, specially if we are all arrested and sent to jail.

Yours sincerely,  
K. NAZIMUDDIN

PS. Shaheed is very disappointed and dejected, particularly as people are sympathizing with him for not being nominated to the Working Committee. He thinks that in view of his stand for the League and attacks on him, his position in Bengal will be jeopardized. The Muslims of Bengal will not understand why [Hassan] Ispahani has been preferred to him.

<sup>1</sup>See No. 273.

277

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/123-4*

51 EZRA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
15 December 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall commence my letter by thanking you for having reaffirmed your confidence in me publicly by appointing me as member of the Working Committee<sup>1</sup> on the vacancy created by the expulsion of Fazlul Huq.

Of course, you have been kept in touch with the happenings in Bengal. For the time being we have had a setback in the Legislature. I am more than ever confident that we shall, within a very short period, retrieve our position gloriously and shall come back stronger, healthier and more determined than ever before. A bloated party full of self-interested people must one day burst. This is what has happened to the Muslim League here. We have been given an opportunity for separating the chaff [*sic* for wheat] from the grain [*sic* for chaff] and for differentiating between the true Leaguer and the person who was a Leaguer for his own convenience and benefit. There is no necessity [*sic*] for despair. I am happy and so must every true Leaguer be. We shall come back very soon. Fazlul Huq will not get away with his treachery. He may be in power [for] one, two, three, four or five months but his day of reckoning will nevertheless come and that day is not too far. He thinks he will bring in peace and prosperity by joining hands with the very people who cursed and opposed the Musalmans from every conceivable platform and *ghat* in the province. The coalition in power today is ill-conceived and is something hideous and unnatural. Heterogeneous elements are bound to pull in different directions and very soon one or the other will have to break away for reasons and [*sic* for of] self-preservation.

You will be pleased to hear that we have settled down to real hard work. Our appearance in the Legislative Assembly on the first day as the main party in opposition was very heartening. We were all cheerful and as our Leader entered the Assembly we stood up to a man and shouted three times, 'Muslim League *Zindabad*'. These shouts electrified the atmosphere and made those treacherous Musalmans who sat opposite us think how they had let down their community. Fancy the Musalmans' only political organisation being in the opposition in a province that is a Muslim-majority province.

We know every effort will be made and every pressure exercised to check our activities. We shall be persecuted but being determined men we shall happily face any contingency. We are all ready even, if necessary, to go to jail in the fight for our organisation and our community. You will, I am confident, be happy to read and hear of our activities in Bengal. We shall demonstrate to you how serious we are in our resolve and how soon we shall retrieve the present position; the position created by overtrust and weak-kneedness of our Provincial League leaders and treachery of Fazlul Huq and his likes. As a party in the Legislature, I give you the assurance that we shall be active and lively and we shall make Fazlul Huq and



company sit up every day. I have not the least doubt that before long we shall have sitting with us the majority of the Musalmans in the Legislature. Of course, if the general election is permitted today we shall have ninety per cent of them with us.

We are all working six and seven hours a day. We are organising the Muslim League thoroughly. We mean to make it a genuine and live organisation and not an organisation that has merely existed on paper so long.

Things are moving very rapidly in the international sphere. The danger is now next door.

The Nawab of Dacca has after all betrayed us, but the satisfaction is that when he left our Party he was unable to take away a single man from it. This will show you the influence that the Nawab of Dacca commands over the members of the Legislature.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

PS. We are holding public meetings in Calcutta, and I am very happy to inform you that the tempo is getting faster and faster. Yesterday, there was a mass meeting of the Muslim citizens of Calcutta at Mahomedali Park. Without exaggeration, the Park and pavements around it were packed to suffocation. The Muslim public, for the first time, are being told of the real facts and are beginning to realise the sale that Fazlul Huq has made of their interest. Next Sunday a meeting will be held at the Octerlony Monument, and we are confident that we shall have between 50,000 and 60,000 Muslims present. Arrangements are being made to start our activities in the districts as well and before the week is out, regular activities will commence in the districts. Students will go out either tomorrow or the day after. They will tour the whole province delivering speeches and telling the Muslims of Bengal how Fazlul Huq has let them down and how the combination between Huq and Shyama Prasad Mukerjee will affect them.

<sup>1</sup>See No. 273.



278

*Abdul Hamid Khan to M. A. Jinnah**SHC, Assam I/5*

HAMIDABAD,  
 FAKIRGUNJ P.O., GOALPARA,  
 ASSAM,  
 15 December 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your kind letter<sup>1</sup> and your readiness and inclination to hold the Muslim League session in Assam. Easter is quite unsuitable for us as we shall be having rains in those days. It is impossible to hold the session once rains set in.

As regard the place, Hamidabad (Ghagmari), a village, is the only place where we can hold the session. It is in Goalpara District, which is bordering on the Bengal Districts of Rangpur, Bogra and Mymensingh. Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad presided over the Assam Provincial Muslim League Conference there and he knows the place. Holding the All India [Muslim] League session in a village will be a unique thing in the history of the Muslim League but I must tell you beforehand that we shall not be able to provide amenities to which our leaders from towns are accustomed. They should be prepared to bear the discomforts of a village life for three days—the life which our masses live all the year round.

Yours sincerely,  
 ABDUL HAMID KHAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 269.

279

*Abdul Matin Choudhry to M. A. Jinnah**SHC, Assam I/6*

SHILLONG,  
 15 December 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Received your letter.<sup>1</sup> Moulana Abdul Hamid also received your letter and you must have received his reply also. The position is like this.

The question of inviting the League session was discussed in the meeting of the League Council held at Shillong on the 14th instant. The Council, as a whole, considered the attempt far too ambitious but Moulana Abdul Hamid, who has a stout heart and wonderful organising capacity, was prepared to shoulder the responsibility and sought co-operation of the Council. They gave him their blessings.

The League session if held in Assam will have certain novel features—both convenient and inconvenient—which I want you to be apprised of at the beginning. All the Council members are prepared to give their support and co-operation to the Moulana but his personal influence and organising ability will be the mainstay. Hamidabad, which is Moulana's own village and a locality over which the Moulana exercises great influence, is the only place where the Moulana thinks that, by exercise of his personal influence, he will be able to make arrangements for holding the session. There being no other alternative offer of venue, Hamidabad had to be selected. It is a village five miles from the town of Dhubri across the Brahmaputra. It is not very far from the Bengal border and large contingents from Bengal can attend [the session]. For accommodation of delegates, huts will have to be extemporised [*sic* for improvised]. Some of the usual amenities of the town will be absent and respectable delegates will have to adjust themselves to some of the inconveniences to which they are not inured. This is the inevitable drawback of holding the session in a village where communication is also not very good. Yet thousands of people will undoubtedly attend and from the point of view of the attendance, the Assam session will not suffer in comparison with the other League sessions. This will be a session organised by the League workers without much support from the rich people whose number amongst Muslims in Assam are [*sic* for is] not many [*sic*]. Our workers argue that Muslim League being a mass movement, our leaders should not grudge the inconveniences that they may be put to during their short stay in spite of the best efforts of the local workers. The League session in a village is a novel experiment and if the leaders are prepared to put up with inconveniences, workers here are ready to do their best for the success of the session.

As rains begin early in this province, and it is out of [the] question to hold the session once rains start, Easter is out of [the] question for Assam session. For climatic and other very cogent reasons, last

week of February is the most suitable time for holding the session in Assam.

Hope you are keeping well now. My best compliments to Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,  
MATIN

<sup>1</sup>No. 270.

280

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/322*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
18 December 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith a copy of resolutions passed by the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, held on 17th December, for your information.

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

*Enclosure*

*F. 1119/83-5*

Following resolutions were passed by the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League in its meeting held on the 17th December 1941, at Seafeld House, under the presidentship of Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, MLA.

#### RESOLUTION NO.1

The following gentlemen shall represent Sind on the Council of the All India Muslim League:

*[Names omitted]*

#### RESOLUTION NO. 2

#### SOCIAL BOYCOTT OF EXPELLED MEMBERS

The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League while supporting the decision of the All India Muslim League, expelling from its fold

Sir Sultan Ahmed, Begum Shah Nawaz, Moulvi Fazlul Huq and others, urges upon the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to organise a campaign of social boycott of these gentlemen in order to prevent repetition of the same crime by others.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 3

##### INDIAN POLITICAL SITUATION

The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, while supporting the position adopted by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League regarding the present political situation in their resolution of 16th November 1941, warns the British Government that any departure from the spirit or the letter of the Secretary of State's declaration, dated 8th August 1940, or formation of an Anglo-Congress alliance at the expense of the Muslims would be regarded as an act involving breach of faith with the Muslims and inviting active resistance.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 4

##### CORRUPTION AMONG CERTAIN MINISTERS

The Council appoints ■ committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, to hold an enquiry into the general outcry in the country on the score of corruption among certain Ministers and some of their supporters and submit their report before the next budget session of the Assembly.

*[Names omitted]*

#### RESOLUTION NO. 5

The Provincial Muslim League regrets to observe that since sometime there has been a dispute between the Hindus and the Muslims over the Amirkhani Mosque at Thatta. The Council urges upon the authorities to satisfy the legitimate demands of the Muslims in that regard as early as possible, failing which the Council authorizes the Working Committee to take whatever steps it deems fit to safeguard the religious interests of the Muslims of Thatta.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 6

The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League urges upon the Musalmans of Sind to observe the ensuing 'Id al-Azha day as the Pakistan Day and after passing a resolution supporting the League demand for Pakistan try to explain to the Musalmans the main features of the aforesaid Muslim demand. The Council also asks the Musalmans of Sind to wear the badges of P for Pakistan in order to develop the requisite amount of determination to achieve the objective.



## RESOLUTION NO. 7

Resolved that Sayed Ali Mahomed Rashdi and Shaikh Abdul Majid shall prepare a Memorandum on the position of Muslims in Government services and submit [it] to the necessary [sic] quarters on behalf of the Muslim League.

## RESOLUTION NO. 8

The meeting authorizes its President to request Allama Mashriqi through a telegram to give up his fast as his life was an asset to the Muslim community. At the same time, the Council warns the British Government that the Muslims of India are not likely to rest contented until and unless the Allama is set at liberty.

## RESOLUTION NO. 9

The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League is of the opinion that the present Ministry of Sind is responsible for:

- a. having created a very serious state of maladministration and grave insecurity in the Province;
- b. having caused great harm to the Muslim community; [and]
- c. having created permanent rift between the Hindu and Musalman communities of the Province.

Therefore, the Council advises the League Assembly Party to confine its activity presently to an effort to liberate the Province from the jaws of the present gang of Ministers. Further, the Council urges upon H.E. the Governor of Sind to dissolve the present Sind Assembly and order fresh elections in order to enable the electorate to give its verdict on the happenings of last five years and send in fresh representatives who may take the Province out of the present morass.

## RESOLUTION NO. 10

Resolved that a Central Provincial League fund be opened and the Council requests its President to start it with a personal donation of Rs. 500. In addition, the following methods will be adopted to achieve this object:

- i. Muslim League Assembly Party Members to pay Rs. 125 [each]
- ii. Working Committee members to pay Rs. 25 each
- iii. Council members to pay Rs. 10 each

Sympathisers to pay Rs. 10 or five per year for the League work be found out [sic]. The League Working Committee can show relaxation in the enforcement of the above procedure.

The office should arrange for proper distribution of receipt books.

## RESOLUTION NO. 11

This meeting entrusts the work of forming the Primary League branches and holding fresh elections before February 15th, 1942 to the under-mentioned gentlemen:

[Names omitted]

281

*S. A. Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, C.P. & Berar II/125*

PANDHARKAWADA,  
18 December 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very thankful to you for your kind letter of the 13th instant.<sup>1</sup> I am very much gratified to learn that the Working Committee has been summoned at Nagpur on the 26th. Although Nagpur as the capital of a semi-Maharashtra Province lacks in [sic] suitable accommodation, yet the organizers of the conference and the Muslim Leaguers there will not spare any pains to accord a hearty welcome to the honoured guests. The unfortunate arrest of Nawab Siddique Ali Khan at such a time is a great handicap. The Provincial Muslim League has lodged a strong protest against his untimely incarceration and demanded an unconditional immediate release.

Though I am slightly suffering from influenza yet I am proceeding to Nagpur on the 20th instant.

I shall be highly obliged if you kindly let me know the train by which you intend to come to Nagpur. May I again repeat my humble request to [you to] kindly see your way to accept[ing] the most earnest, sincere and long-standing invitation of Burhanpur Muslims for a short visit on your way to Nagpur or back to Bombay. It will be a unique occasion in the history of Burhanpur if you can arrange your return journey in such a way as to enable you to offer 'Id al-Azha prayers at the historical and the most magnificent 'Idgah of Burhanpur. An early reply is earnestly solicited.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
S. A. RAUF SHAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 274.

## 282

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/126*

51 EZRA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
18 December 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is to cancel my letter of yesterday.<sup>1</sup> The Provincial Council meeting that was called for the 25th and 26th instant has been cancelled due to the panicky conditions prevailing in this city. People are fleeing in tens of thousands daily, and in these conditions we feel a Conference cannot be held. We have, therefore, changed the venue of the conference to Sirajgunj and the date from the 25th December 1941 to the 11th of January, 1942. Sir Nazimuddin and I will, therefore, leave Calcutta by the Nagpur Mail on the 24th instant and will be in time for the Working Committee meeting of the 26th.

Yesterday in the Assembly when Fazlul Huq said that he was at heart a Khaksar, there were shouts from the Muslim League benches, "No, you are a traitor; you are a quisling". Again, when he went on to say that he expected such a demonstration there were cries from our benches, "Guilty conscience", the man was absolutely non-plussed. The great joke came when he addressed us and said, "Rely on me to do the best"; there were such jeering and derisive laughter from our benches that the hideous fox was completely dumbfounded.

His first day's service to the Muslim community was proclaimed by him in the Legislature yesterday, namely the decision of the Government not to proceed with the Secondary Education Bill. The *Star of India* and the *Azad* will be writing very strongly on this subject.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>See Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 229-30.

283

*M. A. Jinnah to Badruddin Ahmed Siddiky**F. 451/7-8**18 December 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th instant<sup>1</sup> and I am somewhat surprised that you have got cold feet. In my opinion the treachery of Nawab Bahadur of Dacca is no less than that of Mr. Fazlul Huq and a man who can act in a manner in which he has done should have no place in any decent public life of any country. I find that you are being misled. The less I say about him the better. But let me tell you that in the first place, in my opinion, he was not fit to become the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Bengal Legislature and, in the second place, if his grievance [is] that he was not elected the leader of the Muslim League Party then he should have brought the matter to the notice of the Working Committee or myself as the President of the All India Muslim League. Discipline must be maintained.

I am glad that you are trying your best to meet the point by saying that party solidarity and discipline must be maintained if the League is to be kept alive. When you know the full facts of the betrayal of the Musalmans of Bengal and the Muslim League of your province and Musalmans generally, you will realise what these two men—Mr. Fazlul Huq and Nawab Bahadur—have done. I am glad that we are rid of men of this character, and as we go on we must purify more and more. We cannot tolerate or play in the hands of selfish men, quislings and fifth-columnists amongst us.

But after all you are students and I do not desire that you should jump into the fray. I write to you merely for your education and information in reply to your letters. You are not expected to take part in the various developments that take place from time to time.

I would like you to read the account of the proceedings of the public meeting held at Calcutta a few days ago, published in the *Star of India*. It will give you some idea as to the treachery of these two men.

Yours faithfully,

M. A. JINNAH

B.A. Siddiky, Esq.,  
1 Kazemuddin Siddiky Lane,  
Dacca

<sup>1</sup>No. 271.



## 284

*Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 197/43-6*

ALMANZAR,  
23 LAWRENCE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
18 December 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I had not yet replied to your letter of the 13th October.<sup>1</sup> I was waiting for our elections (of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation) to take place and then write to you. The elections had to be postponed because of a mischievous statement by Mr. Abdussattar Khan Niazi in which he made certain insinuations against me. Meanwhile, Mr. Mohammad Noman came here and he and the students as well as many other persons impressed upon me that in view of the above-mentioned statement I should allow the students to elect me as President for the next year as otherwise the Federation might come to grief. I was so unwell that during Mr. Noman's stay here, I had to receive all these students in my bedroom and talk to them for several hours. Mr. Noman now knows the state of affairs here and I asked him to tell you everything in detail as it was not practicable to communicate all this in a letter. I expect he had a talk with you. Suffice it to say [that] certain non-students and semi-students wanted to use the platform of the Federation for political propaganda of their own liking. This I considered and still consider inimical to the interest of the Federation. I think the situation here is such that it is better to work quietly and not to have too many public demonstrations. Of course, we should try to make the students League-minded, but there is no need to do it with a flourish of trumpets. The students should study the various problems of the Muslims and discuss them among themselves and try to have [a] part in practical activities like mass literacy, propaganda for Urdu, etc. I am so glad to find [that] you have made it clear in your letter, dated 15 November 1941,<sup>2</sup> addressed to Mr. Manzoor Rabbani. It has cleared the air.

Our Federation elections took place on the 14th December, hence the delay in my writing this letter to you. Moreover, I know you were busy with vital and serious matters. I was re-elected as President. Now you must be preparing to leave for Nagpur. A few

delegates will represent the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, whom our new Organizing Secretary, Raja Iftkharullah, B.A., will lead. This gentleman made a speech in the Pakistan Conference, held under your presidency in March this year. He is a good and quiet worker full of enthusiasm. As I have written to Mr. Noman, the Punjab Federation recommends him to be taken as a Joint Secretary of the All India Muslim Students Federation on behalf of the Punjab. If you have any spare time at Nagpur, please give him an interview for a few minutes.

I hope you are keeping good health, for which Muslim India prays day and night.

I do hope the All-India Students Session will be a grand success under your leadership.

With my best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
BASHIR AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

<sup>2</sup>No. 226.

## 285

*A. Sattar Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC Students I/11-4*

CONFIDENTIAL

NAGPUR,  
19 December 1941

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge with many thanks the receipt of your kind letter dated the 13th instant<sup>1</sup> (which for some unknown reasons reached me on the 16th instant). We are indeed grateful to you for having called the Working Committee's meeting also at Nagpur during our session, as requested by us. This would indeed make our session all the more successful.

We are also grateful to you for having so kindly accepted the invitation of the Anjuman-Hami-e-Islam. As per your valued instructions we have refused all other invitations on your behalf.

The programme of the session has been drawn up by Mr. Mohammad Noman in strict accordance with the instructions given in your letter under reference.

There are now some important matters which I most respectfully beg to place before you and await your valued and favourable orders:

1. We shall be extremely grateful if you will kindly let us know whether we may arrange for the Presidential procession on your arrival in Nagpur. The Musalmans of Nagpur are very very enthusiastic and anxious about the procession and they are making all arrangements for the same. We have, however, not as yet announced anything in this connection and are waiting for your valued reply. If you are kind enough to agree to the procession being taken out, we shall, of course, see that it finishes off very early and that the least possible strain is put upon you.
2. The '*Id al-Azha*' falls on the 28th December 1941. As the session finishes on the 27th December 1941, we shall be grateful if you will kindly let us know whether you would celebrate the '*Id*' at Nagpur. We are arranging to hold the '*Id*' prayers in the *pandal* of the Conference itself and have requested Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung of Hyderabad to lead the '*Id*' prayers on that day. We, therefore, most respectfully request your honour to kindly celebrate the '*Id*' at Nagpur.

I now most respectfully beg to seek your guidance and kind advice on a very perplexing matter.

The recent arrest of Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, under the Defence of India Rules for his past speeches on Iran, has caused great restlessness and fury amongst the Musalmans here. The Muslim students are also badly hit by this event, and they are very anxious to register their protest against this arrest and develop it into a major issue, as it reacts upon the very fundamental structure of Islam-internationalism. It may also be humbly emphasized that Nawab Siddique Ali Khan was arrested only for the fact that as a staunch and loyal Leaguer he reiterated unequivocally the Working Committee's Resolution<sup>2</sup> regarding the Iranian development passed at Bombay. We are receiving strong suggestions that the most effective way of registering our protest would be to elect Nawab Siddique Ali Khan as the Chairman of our Reception Committee and to leave his Chair vacant and get his address read out by another person—preferably a student.

We are all students and with the limited knowledge and experience at our disposal we are finding it very difficult to arrive at any right conclusion and decide upon the most suitable course of action. We are, therefore, approaching your honour with an appeal to kindly guide us with your fatherly advice in this most perplexing problem. Your



valuable advice will, of course, help us a great deal and will certainly put us on the right path. Our elections are due on the 23rd December 1941, and I shall be extremely grateful if you will kindly favour me with your valued and favourable reply, telegraphically, before that date. Your telegraphic reply may be further supported by a detailed reply, but to meet the requirement of the situation a telegraphic message from you is most respectfully requested.

I most respectfully apologise for having taken so much of your honour's valuable time and hope that you would be graciously pleased to guide and help us at this moment.

Thanking you very much,

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. SATTAR SIDDIQUI

*General Secretary,*

*Reception Committee,*

*All India Muslim Students Federation*

PS. It may respectfully be submitted that the arrest of Nawab Siddique Ali Khan is essentially in the nature of ■ non-controversial issue, inasmuch as the Working Committee of our Provincial Muslim League has very generously not only withdrawn all charges against him and annulled its previous findings, but has also protested against his arrest and has demanded his release forthwith. And, as such, we trust in good faith that his election as the Chairman of the Reception Committee will be received from [sic for by] all quarters with grace.

<sup>1</sup>SHC, Students I/10. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 83, Resolution No. 7.

286

*S. M. Zauqi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 471/84-5*

DHANMANDI,

AJMER,

20 December 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah

Fazlul Huq's friends have been writing to their friends in Ajmer applauding his recent move and trying to win over the people to his



side. These letters have had no effect here but it is possible [that] similar letters have been addressed to people elsewhere. So, it seems the man is bent upon further mischief. It should be checked in time. It is the duty of the Bengal Muslims to prove to the outside world that Fazlul Huq is not Bengal and Bengal is not Fazlul Huq. It is good that he has been expelled from the Muslim League and his treachery exposed. A proclaimed enemy loses much of his power of mischief. False friends prove more dangerous. Difficult times are ahead of us and we have to be very careful. It is time that we looked round and undertook a wholesale purge. Quality is more valuable than quantity. While, on the one hand, we should eliminate undesirables from amongst us, on the other hand, we should simultaneously try to become so strong and all-pervading as to make it impossible for self-seeking hypocrites or fools to go astray. We must have a small committee of workers to keep an all-round vigil and see that our component parts in all the different provinces in India are in proper working order. If there already exists such a committee, it has not made itself felt yet.

Despite the serious threat to which India has become exposed as a result of foreigners' sinister selfishness and greed, no solution of the present difficulties has come in sight. Stray individuals have started speech-making with grandmotherly advice to Indians to forget their feuds and present a common front to the enemy. Do they really believe that speeches and statements are enough to solve the problem? The Government does not budge an inch. The Hindus are as adamant as ever. Poor Muslims have already been giving more than their proportionate due. Yet Hindus are being patted at every step and Muslims snubbed. Disregarding the detached and unconcerned attitude of the government, if we are to look after the interests of our own country during the present emergency, it is for the majority party to come forward and declare what sacrifices they are prepared to make in the cause of their motherland. It looks very ludicrous when Hindu communalists come forward to preach against communalism and throw blame on others.

Please accept my hearty and sincere greetings on the occasion of your forthcoming birthday. I wish you a very happy birthday and pray [to] God that you may have many happier birthdays to enjoy. Muslims want you to live for a long time. Your life is so precious to them.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
S. M. ZAUQI

287

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M.A. Jinnah**F. 1092/148*

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH,  
21 December 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am deeply grateful to you for your kind letter<sup>1</sup> and the beautiful autographed photo which I received today. The photograph is eminently suited for the purpose of the book. Unfortunately, it is not possible under the circumstances to bring out the book by the 25th as originally contemplated, but the book will surely be out by the end of the first week of January. I will take the liberty to send you a presentation copy of the book, as soon as it is out. As desired by you, I am also sending you 100 copies of your Aligarh speech.<sup>2</sup> I have another piece of good news to convey to you. The Muslim League has swept the polls in the recent Union elections. Shakir Hussain Khan who was till lately Secretary of the Union has been elected Vice-President defeating, by an overwhelming majority, a non-descript candidate who was supported by the Congress group. For the office of Secretary both candidates were Muslim Leaguers, the one who was supported by the more prominent League workers being elected. All the ten members elected to the Cabinet are Muslim Leaguers. Muslim League *zindabad*! Please allow me to say that I am overwhelmed by the consideration which you have shown me in sending me an autographed portrait of yours.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

<sup>2</sup>Dated 2 November 1941. See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: United We Win*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1996, 320-3.

288

*Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/348*NAGPUR,  
21 December 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith, for your perusal, the written statement of Nawab Siddique Ali Khan filed today in the court [of F.P. Mainprice, First Class Magistrate].

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD NOMAN  
[President, All India Muslim Students Federation]

*Enclosure*  
*Written Statement of Siddique Ali Khan*

*F. 1111/47-51*NAGPUR,  
21 December 1941

I beg to state as under:

1. That it is denied that the object, meaning and effect of my speech was to promote or attempt to promote feelings of enmity between Hindus and Muslims.
2. That the abstract of my speech filed in the court makes a poor reading of my intentions and expressions and it is too condensed a record to be relied on as an exposition of my intents and objects or the likely effect of my speech. There are, as usual, several important omissions, and sentences (objected to), [which] bereft of their context not only lose their import but present a grotesque picture of what I actually said and conveyed to the audience.
3. That the whole trend of my speech—as is obvious even from the few disjointed sentences picked up from here and there to link into a presentable reading—was to inform the audience of the persecution and oppression of the Amraoti Muslims at the hands of Hindu [Maha]sabhaites and the utter failure of the Government to afford any protection to them. My personal visit to Amraoti convinced me that the Muslims were the victims of a



treacherous and deliberately planned assault by the Hindu Sabhaites and the helplessness of the police officials to stem the rowdyism of the Hindu *goondas*. I, therefore, appealed to the Muslims to give all the help to the oppressed Muslims of Amraoti and, at the same time, wanted them to be on their guard against such treacherous assaults, to stand united and face all danger from whatever quarter, relying on their own strength and the help of the Almighty.

4. That I am an exponent of Hindu-Muslim unity and a humble worker towards the cause is fully proved by my condemnation of the *Hitavada* for its publication of an absolutely false and mischievous news of Hindu-Muslim tension in Nagpur on the front page and thus causing a scare. I also condemned the Government for not taking action against such scaremongers who are always on the look-out to fish in the dirty [*sic* for troubled] waters of Hindu-Muslim disunity. I had declared that there is no tension in Nagpur and [that] the Hindus and the Muslims in Nagpur had no grievance against each other, and what Mr. Akram deposed today was that I said that "don't create trouble and Musalmans should not take any initiative".

5. That I had given full credit to highly placed Hindu officers and in particular to Mr. Hiranand, the City Superintendent of Police, Nagpur, for doing justice to all communities—though I condemned the officers of the lower ranks—and expressed the full confidence of the Muslims in him. I also gave credit to Mr. R. B. Kumbhare for peacefully and honourably settling the differences as to the installation of a deity. It may also be noted that in condemning the Hindus for Amraoti riots I did not speak of the Hindus in general, but condemned the activities of the Hindu Sabhaites alone, whom I regard, and my experience shows, as the originators of all Hindu-Muslim riots.

6. That even a cursory reading of the distorted gist of the speech filed in court, in the light of the above statement, would prove that the speech of a person who could come within the mischief of Section 153A would be of quite a different complexion. For sample, for speeches that have promoted and do promote enmity between Hindus and Muslims, one has to turn towards the platform of Hindu [Maha]sabha and particularly the speeches delivered just before the Amraoti riots at Amraoti by the Sabhaite leaders there. And yet I should be selected to be a victim to Section 153A by attributing ■ meaning to my speech which it does not otherwise bear, is an irony of fate.



7. That I assert again that to commit any mischief as is contemplated by Section 153A was and is far from my intent and thought and I am, as I always was, a humble worker towards the unity of all the classes and in particular Hindus and Muslims. The following paragraph in the report of Mr. Akram (*Naib Tehsildar*) dated 22.10.1941 shows the effect produced on the audience:

I may report here that in his speech there was nothing important except the apprehensions of Indian Muslims that the British may not [*sic*] occupy Afghanistan as they did in Iran.

Nor does the daily confidential report of Mr. Hiranand support the interpretations and charges levelled in this case.

8. That as a member of the Muslim League organisation, it was a part of my duty to inform the public at Nagpur as to what had taken place at the meeting at Bombay.

9. That every Muslim in India felt very much aggrieved and perturbed when Iran was occupied by the British and Russians without any sins of omission and commission on its (Iran's) part. The reverting of this independent Muslim kingdom to foreign bondage naturally roused fears in the Muslim minds about the fate of Afghanistan as well. The rumours (then) about the removal of H. M. Raza Shah Pehlvi from the throne of Iran at the dictation of foreign powers, as also the demands that were rumoured to be made on Afghanistan, made the Muslims doubt the declared intentions of the British Government. H. M. Raza Shah Pehlvi is held in great esteem by the Muslims as the deliverer of Iran, as the man who resuscitated this ancient kingdom from the strong grip of foreign domination and once more brought it within the charmed circle of independent nations. The statement [*sic* for treatment] meted out to such ■ personage was, indeed, extremely unbearable and humiliating to the Muslims and a protest was the humblest form of expression of our resentment towards the action of the Britishers and our intense sympathy with the dethroned monarch.

10. That we, who have condemned the Fascists' and Nazis' unprovoked assaults on innocent kingdoms like Albania, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Czechoslovakia, could not have accepted complacently or disinterestedly the latest performance of the Britishers in so flatteringly following the Nazi and Fascist methods and strategy in dealing with an innocent and weak Muslim kingdom, which had proclaimed its neutrality and studiously stuck to its professions—a performance quite unusual in modern diplomacy and political morality.

11. That the attitude of the Muslim League towards the War is

well-known. It does not support nor does it oppose war efforts or defence preparations. It has allowed its members to join the various war committees in their individual capacity and today many of its prominent members are enthusiastic supporters of British war efforts and defence measures. To say or do anything to hamper or obstruct, in any way, these measures would have been a violation of my allegiance to the League and I would never tolerate any such disloyalty, on my part, to the only Muslim organisation to which I am devoted.

12. That the object of the League in passing the resolution on Iran<sup>1</sup> was, in my humble opinion, a strong protest against the offending entry of the Britishers within the domain of an un-offending and innocuous empire and also to serve as a warning to the apprehended intentions of the Britishers of similar activities in Afghanistan. It was also an expression of our strong sympathy and brotherly feelings as also human sentiments towards an empire in distress. Not to do so would have been a sacrilege inasmuch as it would have been a gross violation of the fundamental principles of fraternity proclaimed and vehemently asserted by Islam on its devotees. Further, I think that the intention was also to serve a warning to the British Government lest it should forget its alleged intentions and declaration in the event of the victory of the Allies. In referring to Iran in my speech these very objects were uppermost in my mind and expression.

13. That, under the circumstances, I deny that I have committed any offence under the Sections quoted by the prosecution.

SIDDIQUE ALI KHAN

<sup>1</sup>See No. 285, note 2.

## 289

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani*

*F. 306/127*

*22 December 1941*

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 15th,<sup>1</sup> 16th,<sup>2</sup> 17th,<sup>3</sup> and 18th<sup>4</sup> instant. I am extremely sorry I was not able to reply earlier as I was not well and [was] occupied by so many other things. I thank you for giving me all the information and details and keeping me in touch with the various developments in Bengal.

We shall discuss matters when we meet at Nagpur and I am glad to learn that you and Sir Nazimuddin are coming to Nagpur on the 25th.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,  
Calcutta

<sup>1</sup>No. 277.

<sup>2</sup>Ispahani had thanked him for his nomination as a member of the All India Muslim League Working Committee. See F. 311/8, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>Ispahani had notified him of his and Nazimuddin reaching Nagpur on 26 December 1941, to attend the meeting of AIML Working Committee, and requested that no important matter be taken up by the Committee before their arrival. See F. 306/125, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>No. 282.

## 290

*M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin*

*F. 392/79*

*22 December 1941*

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th of December.<sup>1</sup> I am extremely sorry I was not able to reply to it earlier as I was not quite well, and besides I was pressed with other matters including the question of the proper action to be taken against Mr. Fazlul Huq; but I am glad that you are coming to Nagpur and we will discuss the whole question in full details and then decide further programme.

I, however, congratulate you and those who are with you for the bold stand you have taken, and I am confident that the Bengal Muslims will stand by you solidly, because I am getting reports from all places in Bengal. You must now work and organise the Muslim League and we will soon make those who are guilty of betrayal and treachery realise the folly of their action, and also you will be able to make your Governor and the Viceroy realise that they can no longer play with the Musalmans, either in Bengal or anywhere else.

We shall do all we can to re-establish our position in Bengal and if you all stand together and organize the Muslim League, I do not think it will take very long before you come [in] to your own.

With regard to the other matter in your letter, we shall have a talk when we meet.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 276.

## 291

*M. A. Jinnah to S. A. Rauf Shah*

*SHC, C. P. & Berar II/126*

*22 December 1941*

Dear Mr. Rauf Shah,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th December 1941<sup>1</sup> and beg to inform you that I shall be reaching Nagpur at 9.20 a.m. on the 25th of December by the Calcutta Mail.

As regards my going to Burhanpur, I will explain to you why I am unable to do so, when we meet at Nagpur.

With regard to Nawab Siddique Ali Khan's case, the Working Committee will consider the matter.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

S. A. Rauf Shah, Esq.,  
Pandharkawada,  
Nagpur

<sup>1</sup>No. 281.

## 292

*M. A. Jinnah to Mian Bashir Ahmad*

*F.197/47*

*22 December 1941*

Dear Bashir Ahmad,

Many thanks for your letter of the 18th.<sup>1</sup> I am glad that you are once more elected President of the Muslim Students' Federation of the Punjab. I hope that under your guidance the Federation will grow and bring about complete unity and solidarity among the



Musalmans of your Province.

Thank you very much; I am now quite alright.

I am leaving for Nagpur on the 24th evening and reaching there on the morning of 25th.

I shall be glad to see Raja Iftikharullah while he is at Nagpur, as desired by you.

Hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Mian Bashir Ahmad Sahib,  
Almanzar, 23 Lawrence Road,  
Lahore

<sup>1</sup>No. 284.

## 293

*Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

MOUNT ROAD,  
MADRAS,  
23 December 1941

My dear leader,

Allow me to offer you my heartiest felicitations on the happy occasion of your birthday. It is our earnest wish and prayer that our Quaid-i-Azam should live long with perfect health and happiness. Muslim India is not only proud of you but indeed fortunate that they have a leader who is leading them towards their political salvation in this country.

A defection here and a defection there merely on selfish grounds proves, if ever any proof were necessary, that the whole of Muslim India is behind you and with you.

Once again, may *Allah* in His bounty bless you with long life, health and happiness.

I am,  
Yours affectionately,  
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 339.

294

*S. K. Nabi to M. A. Jinnah**F. 874/243-4*

NAUPADA,  
VIZAGAPATNAM,  
24 December 1941

Most revered Sir,

Two years ago, I had written an epistle<sup>1</sup> from Mandasa dealing with religious matters, but I regret to state that I was not favoured with a reply. I beg to bring to your notice that in the seven districts of Northern Circars there are Muslims in the interior parts of hinterland, who are not aware of the fundamental principles of Islam. Some are not alive to the principles of Muslim League for want of enlightenment. It is beyond their comprehension to understand how vital a body Muslim League stands in India for Muslims. Owing to lack of homogeneity among them, they isolate themselves and form miscellaneous groups which are antagonistic and alien to our doctrines. This is due to the pressure of neighbouring Hindus, who try to pull them into their fold. I, therefore, beseech you most reverently to hold periodical meetings in parts from Bezwada down to Cuttack in order to educate these people in the League's principles.

I have formulated a scheme under the caption of Tabligul Dhowra Islam Society embodying 14 points indicating the doctrines of Islam and I hope I will be bestowed upon the favour of your perusal. I shall submit the same on a call.

In fine, I submit that I have been trying my level best for the past four years to call at your residence at Bombay but in the absence of any encouragement and countenance I held back. I pray, I may be permitted to have the honour of discussing with you important matters that touch our community in these parts and at large. However humble they may be, I hope they will receive your attention.

With profound veneration,

I beg to remain,  
Most revered Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

S. K. NABI

*Organiser, Tabligul Islam Esad Koshis*

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

## 295

*F. R. Moraes to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

GREEN FIELDS,  
CHURCH GATE RECLAMATION,  
BOMBAY,  
25 December 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Enclosed [is] the full text of your statement and the report appearing in the *Times of India* this morning.

Yours sincerely,  
F. R. MORAES

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 342.

*Enclosure*

*Statement by M. A. Jinnah*

MUSLIM OFFER REJECTED

Mr. Jinnah's Criticism

Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a statement to the *News Chronicle* of London says:

I want the British public and statesmen to understand that the stand of the Muslim League is vitally different from that of the Congress and other Hindu organisations. It is somewhat difficult to understand the Congress, as even in the recent pronouncements of front-line leaders such as Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Nehru and others,<sup>1</sup> they will have nothing to do with the prosecution of the War unless an immediate declaration of India's independence is made by the British Government, and as free Indians they will determine their war policy.

When they talk of the freedom of India and the independence of India, they entirely ignore the hundred million Muslims in this country. That is the first and foremost mistake, and it is most misleading to say that the Congress represents the Indian nation. There is no such thing as an Indian nation in existence. India is ■ constellation of nations and the two major nations are the Hindus and Muslims.

I see that another 'blitz' of agitation is again being set on foot by Hindu leaders because of the growing stress of the expansion of the War to coerce the British Government to make a fresh move and go back on the declaration of August 8, [1940]<sup>2</sup> which clearly laid down

that not only the method and machinery to be set up to consider the future constitution of India should be by agreement of the major elements but that the constitution itself, if it has to be worked successfully, must be framed by agreement of the major parties concerned, as no future constitution can be forced against the will of 100,000,000 Muslims, for it will not survive the withdrawal of the British authority.

### STAMPEDING GOVERNMENT

I see ■ great danger in the British Government being stamped under pressure of recent developments of the War to make a new declaration according to the designs of the Hindu leaders.<sup>3</sup> They, first of all, want that a time limit should be fixed after the War at the end of which the British Government must give a solemn undertaking and promise to give India a constitution as a single unit on the basis of a united and democratic India of the Westminster variety.

This will be cancelling the August declaration and going back on it. Secondly, it clearly means that the constitution will be framed by the British Government, instead of by the major political parties, as laid down in the August declaration. What will be the sanction behind it, as it must be assumed that British power must be substantially or wholly withdrawn when one hundred million Muslims are opposed to it? And, lastly, the clear meaning of this demand by various schools of thought among the Hindus, although the Congress is opposed to it, would mean, in other words, clearly denouncing and condemning the Muslim demand for the partition of India. This will not only be most unfair to the Muslims, but prejudging the consideration of the issue of the future constitution of India. And it will further clearly reduce the whole of Muslim India as an all-India minority under the heel of a Hindu *raj*.

Such a position Muslim India will never accept, and I want the British Government not to force Muslim India to fill Indian jails to convince them or to demonstrate that Pakistan is now our sacred creed, an article of faith, and any declaration by the British Government or Prime Minister which will in any way militate against it, Muslim India will resist with all the power it can command.

The next point which I wish to make clear again is that the difference between the Muslim League and the Congress is very vital as regards their respective attitude towards this War. From the very beginning the Muslim League has offered its hand of fullest co-operation to the British Government, provided a real share and voice in the



authority and responsibility of the Government at the Centre and in the provinces was given within the framework of the present constitution, without prejudice to the major issues involved with regard to the future constitution of India, whereas the Congress has definitely and repeatedly declined to look at any proposal within the framework of the present constitution and prevailing law. They insist upon the major issues being settled immediately, ignoring the Muslims, and that too in a manner detrimental to the vital interests of the Muslims.

### CO-OPERATION REJECTED

I have come to the conclusion that the British Government do not care or value sufficiently the co-operation and assistance of the Muslims except as camp followers, and that they are waiting until they can persuade the Congress to come in or else they have no desire to part with any power in favour of those who fully realise the common peril of this War both to Great Britain and India and are thus willing provisionally to accept the position described by me above as a war contract.

We have clearly indicated to the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government as far back as June 1940,<sup>4</sup> and offered our cooperation on that basis and advised them to go ahead with the Muslim League and such other parties as were willing to undertake the responsibility of the defence of our country and to intensify the war efforts in face of the imminent and common danger. But I am afraid no serious heed has been paid to it so far. It is for the British Government to decide how long they propose to wait until the Congress makes up its mind.

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 334, note 2.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosure to No. 506, JP, XV, 687-9.

<sup>3</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 335, note 1.

<sup>4</sup>See No. 323, JP, XV, 441-3, Resolution No. 1.

## 296

*Sikander Hyat Khan to M A. Jinnah*

*F. 353/48-54*

98 UPPER MALL,  
LAHORE,  
25 December 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Much as I would have liked to be present at the meeting of the Working Committee on the 26th, I have after careful consideration

come to the conclusion that it would, on the whole, be advisable to keep away.

You and your Committee will have to consider questions of vital importance at this meeting, and take momentous decisions—decisions which might make or mar the future destiny not only of the Muslims but of India as a whole. We are faced with a situation fraught with grave and imminent danger to the safety of our country. The menace from the East is rapidly approaching our borders and is growing in volume. The threat from the West and North-West has momentarily receded, thanks to the valiant resistance put up by the Russians, but it may reappear at any moment, and perhaps in a more aggravated form, as a result of the anticipated Nazi attempt to break through Turkey and French North Africa. You will, I have no doubt, bear these important considerations in mind in guiding the deliberations of the Committee. My views on the question of our participation in the war effort are well known to you and the members of the Committee. You are aware that I have, from the very outset of this War, pleaded for a policy of whole-hearted and unconditional support, because it is my fixed conviction that bringing this War to a successful conclusion is of as vital importance to India and the Muslims throughout the world as it is to Great Britain. Recent developments on our eastern frontiers have only helped strengthen that conviction. True, our political demands have not been conceded in full so far; but it is equally true that by withholding our support at this critical juncture we will be jeopardizing the safety of our country as also of our neighbours—among others of Burma, Dutch East Indies, and Malaya in the East, and Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Turkey, and Egypt in the West. If, God forbid, the Nazis and Japanese succeed in this War, all our political aspirations and ambitions of a free and equal partnership will be frustrated for good. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru demands an immediate declaration of complete independence. He has however conveniently omitted to mention how that declaration is to be implemented if the British lose this War. Presumably, he is banking on a victory of anti-Axis Powers but without any help from the political party to which he belongs since it is wedded to a policy of non-violence. Nor has he taken us into confidence as to how he proposes to maintain or retain that independence once we get it. He has further asked for an immediate transfer of authority, exclusively, to the Congress to govern the country. Apparently, the sanction behind that authority will again be the bayonets of the British and the

Indian Army and not the non-violent (!) Congress volunteers. This then is the conception of a truly representative Indian Government in the mind of this 'patriotic' internationalist.

The fact that Congressmen are barely one per cent of the total population of this country has apparently no bearing on the subject; and as for elements other than the Congress, they do not count at all even though they constitute the bulk of Indian population, since this great apostle of internationalism conveniently refuses to acknowledge the existence of the communal problem. According to him, India will attain its Utopia the moment the British agree to shed their mantle of authority and drape it round Congress shoulders—he does not of course consider it necessary or expedient to declare that he is depending on British bayonets to ensure that the mantle is not flicked away by covetous outsiders or 'unpatriotic' non-Congress elements in this country. But why quarrel with his idealism even if it be suspected as a cloak for something more sinister? Let him indulge in his pastime of blowing hot and cold at once—sympathy with anti-Axis Powers and antipathy to any move for translating that sympathy into practice. But there are, among Congress members, many shrewd and practical men who are now beginning to realize the futility of the Congress tactics as also their mistake in relinquishing office in the provinces. They are longing to get back into positions of power and authority. Recent developments in the East have apparently shaken them out of their complacency. They are becoming more and more realistic and demanding a reorientation of the Congress policy. Whether they will succeed in securing a majority for their point of view is yet to be seen. Judging from the trend of their speeches and the change in the tone of the so-called 'nationalist' press it seems likely that, failing a complete revision of its present policy by the Congress as a whole—which Mr. Gandhi may not allow—the Congress high command and the All India Congress Committee may be prepared to countenance an "agreed split" in order to give freedom to those elements who favour participation in the Central Government. This is how I read the situation.

In the circumstances, it is more than ever necessary for the Working Committee of the Muslim League to re-examine carefully and dispassionately the present policy of the League with a view to its revision in the light of the recent serious developments in the war situation and the changing trend of Indian politics. Moreover, it is necessary that a decision should be taken and announced without



undue delay in order to remove the erroneous impression prevailing in certain quarters that 'what Congress says today Muslim League says tomorrow though in different language'. You and the members of the Working Committee are fully aware of my views, for what they are worth, so I do not propose to take up your time by reiterating. I venture, however, to beseech the Working Committee through you, once again, to be more realistic in appraising the war situation. The fate of ninety million Muslims in this country and of an equal or even greater number elsewhere, together with 300 millions of our non-Muslim countrymen, and a multitude of nations outside India is in the balance. It ill-becomes a Muslim to waver or hesitate when the whole world is in the throes of a life and death struggle and even the slightest weight on one side or the other may tilt the balance in our favour or against us. It is true that Muslims throughout India have been co-operating in the war efforts and, in particular, in the provinces where they are in a majority they are contributing generously and to their utmost capacity both in men and material, but the fact remains that the only accredited and representative organisation of the Indian Muslims has not so far given an unequivocal verdict on the subject. The result is that the outside world and the British public do not yet fully appreciate the magnitude and value of the magnificent contribution which Muslim India made and is making towards the successful prosecution of the War. It rests with the Muslim League to rectify this impression and thus enable the world to see our war effort in its true perspective.

And may I express the hope that in coming to a decision on the war issue the Committee will not allow itself to be swayed by the omissions and commissions of the British Government or by the attitude of other political organisations or communities. The issue is so stupendous, so vital that it would be a criminal folly to allow it to be clouded by extraneous considerations, however weighty and important they may be. If India survives—and it can only survive if Great Britain survives—there will be time enough after the War to press our demands. At the moment all our energies and resources must be devoted, exclusively, to saving India and ourselves from enslavement by the Japanese and Nazis. It is painful to observe that not a few of our countrymen are evincing sympathy with Japan—at the moment it takes the form of sneaking sympathy in press headlines and in private conversation, but it might conceivably develop into open sympathy and even fifth-column activities if the enemy



succeeds in getting a foothold on Indian soil. It is therefore all the more important and necessary that the Muslims should provide the necessary corrective by declaring their intention of throwing in their full weight in the defence of India.

It must be borne in mind that so far as our political demands are concerned, the course I have suggested, if adopted, would not make our position any worse; on the contrary it may help to improve it. It is not unreasonable to assume that a clear and unequivocal gesture of unconditional and whole-hearted support at this crucial juncture cannot but evoke a warm and cordial response from the Government and people of Great Britain; and at the same time ensure the sympathy and support of America and other anti-Axis nations. I earnestly request you to give a trial to my recipe of unconditional support. I feel that it is likely to prove more efficacious in securing for the Muslims an adequate share in administration during the transitional stage, and in providing an effective check against the attempts which are being made to stampede His Majesty's Government into pre-judging vital political issues.

You would naturally like to know—indeed you are entitled to know—the reason for my abstention from the Working Committee meeting. Here it is. I have noticed for some time a growing tendency on the part of some members of the Committee to allow personal prejudices and bias to sway them when issues of vital importance are under consideration. Instead of examining and deciding such issues on merits they view them from a narrow parochial or personal angle and do not even hesitate to attribute motives to those who do not see eye to eye with them. This tendency is all the more noticeable when matters relating to War come up for discussion. I am constrained to bring to your notice pointedly that their attitude in this particular respect has been gradually becoming more and more unrealistic; and I have felt for some time that my presence at the meeting, because of the strong views I hold and voice on the question of India's participation in the War may, perhaps, be responsible for aggravating this unfortunate tendency. I may remind you of just one instance to illustrate my point. You will recollect that at the Working Committee meeting in Bombay when the Iran resolution<sup>1</sup> came up for discussion I ventured to plead for its postponement on the ground that we must await further details before expressing our views. I suggested that the step taken by the British and Russian forces was in the interest of Iran as also of India and the Muslim neighbours of

Iran, i.e. Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan, and may have been taken with the approval of the Iranian people. (Incidentally my surmise proved to be correct). In opposing my proposal a prominent member of the Committee, you will remember, made most uncharitable and unwarranted insinuations against me. In view of this perverse and undignified effusion, I would have been justified in requesting you to allow me to resign immediately from the Working Committee, but I refrained from doing so because there was a risk of my action being misconstrued at a time when important issues of a vital character faced the community and it was imperative to maintain its solidarity. This is the main reason why I have avoided attending the meeting at Nagpur. I feel that my presence, instead of being helpful, might have resulted in the real issues being confused or side-tracked again. In any case, my views are well known to you. I have moreover requested the Maharaja Sahib of Mahmudabad, who was here for a day on his way back from Karachi, to convey to you my apology as also my views regarding the line which the League, in my opinion, should adopt in face of the recent disquieting developments in the East as a result of Japan's entry in [to] the War.

May *Allah's* help be with you in guiding the destiny of Muslims at this critical juncture is the earnest prayer of,

Yours sincerely,  
SIKANDER HYAT KHAN

<sup>1</sup>See No. 83, Resolution No. 7.

297

*M. N. Roy to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 187/32*

ROSHAN BAGH,  
13 MOHINI ROAD,  
DEHRA DUN,  
25 December 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please allow me to congratulate you on your statement sent to the *News Chronicle* of London.<sup>1</sup> I hope the document will attract the attention of the ill-informed friends of India, who are preaching a Nehru cult, now that the Gandhi cult has become too ridiculous.

The last paragraph of your statement, particularly, induced me to take the liberty of writing to you. Your position having been as stated therein, I wonder why you chose to be so indifferent to my efforts for organising such other parties as were willing to undertake the responsibility of the defence of our country and to intensify war efforts on the platform of the Democratic Union. As I wrote to you nearly ■ year ago, with your active co-operation it would have been possible to form a powerful coalition under your leadership to challenge the totalitarian claim of the Congress. However, you must have had your reason to take up the attitude you did. Now, your reference to the offer you made to the Government in June 1940 may be interpreted as your willingness to reconsider the proposition I made in the meantime. In that case, I am confident that much can be done, and the way has been indicated by your statement.

You may know that the newly founded Indian Federation of Labour commands the support of more than 70 p[er] c[ent] of organised labour. The non-Brahmin movement of Southern India under the leadership of Mr. [E. V.] Ramaswami Naicker<sup>2</sup> is ready to join hands. I know that Dr. [B. R.] Ambedkar<sup>3</sup> will fall in once you will be ready to take the lead of the coalition. Then, there are many other smaller factors. All these taken together will represent the overwhelming majority of the Indian people. Your cardinal demand, known as 'Pakistan', is accepted by all of them. Why, then, should we not take up a concerted stand which will compel the Government to make the decision as challenged in your statement.

Yours sincerely,  
M. N. ROY  
*Editor,*  
Independent India

<sup>1</sup>See Enclosure to No. 295.

<sup>2</sup>Leader of the Justice Party that stood for 'Dravidistan'.

<sup>3</sup>Member, National Defence Council; spokesman for the Depressed Classes.

## 298

*M. A. Jinnah to T. C. S. Jayaratnam*<sup>1</sup>

NAGPUR,  
26 December 1941

Dear Sir,

The case now pending against Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, MLA (Central), was placed before the Working Committee this evening. In the course of discussion it transpired that Mr. Noman informed Mr. Rauf Shah that the contents of the draft letter dictated by you and to be signed by Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, now in jail, were approved by me and that I did not see any objection to Nawab Siddique Ali Khan signing it, and further I also asked whether the Government would be satisfied with it. This is entirely incorrect. A copy of the statement<sup>2</sup> filed in the court by Nawab Siddique Ali Khan has already been furnished to you and the evidence referred to therein; and if the Government is satisfied, as I understand you seem to have expressed that view, the prosecution against him should be dropped specially at this juncture.

Please let me have a reply by tomorrow afternoon, as my stay in Nagpur is going to be very short, and I should like to see the matter settled finally before I leave.

Yours truly,  
M. A. JINNAH

T. C. S. Jayaratnam, Esq.,  
Chief Secretary,  
C. P. Government,  
Nagpur

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 33.

<sup>2</sup>See Enclosure to No. 288.



## 299

*M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Zauqi*

*F. 471/86*

*3 January 1942*

Dear Mr. Zauqi,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th of December 1941,<sup>1</sup> and I am sorry I was not able to reply earlier. I was so busy at Nagpur, and I have just returned to Bombay.

Many thanks for your good wishes. I am glad that the machinations of Mr. Fazlul Huq's friends have had no effect in Ajmer. I am glad that the Musalmans are now beginning to understand. Knowledge, understanding and discipline are elementary qualifications before a nation can do anything big. I am sure we are on the path of progress, which, I feel confident, will continue unabated.

With best of wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

S. M. Zauqi, Esq.,  
Dhanmandi,  
Ajmer

<sup>1</sup>No. 286.

## 300

*M. A. Jinnah to S. K. Nabi*

*F. 1056/7*

*3 January 1942*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 24th of December 1941<sup>1</sup> and beg to inform you that the All India Muslim League and its branches—provincial, district and primary—constitute a political organisation mainly. If, however, you wish to propagate the principles of Muslim League, your proper course is to approach the District Muslim

League in which you are or the Provincial Muslim League, in the first instance.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

S. K. Nabi, Esq.,  
Naupadavallah,  
Vizagapatnam

<sup>1</sup>No. 294.

301

*M. A. Jinnah to M. N. Roy*

*F. 187/33*

*3 January 1942*

Dear Mr. Roy,

Many thanks for your letter of the 25th of December 1941.<sup>1</sup> There are many difficulties in the way of carrying out your suggestion. No doubt the acceptance of Muslim demand of Pakistan would help agreement between parties and leaders mentioned in your letter. But it is not a matter which can be discussed by means of correspondence. However, it will receive my very careful consideration, and I am not unmindful of other forces which will probably rally round the lead of the Muslim League.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

M. N. Roy, Esq.,  
13 Mohini Road,  
Dehra Dun

<sup>1</sup>No. 297.

## 302

*Syed Manzoor Bokhari to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 827/1-2*

JALGAON,  
EAST KHANDESH,  
4 January 1942

May it please you, Quaid-i-Azam,  
Most exalted Sir,

I had the honour of requesting you at Nagpur to grace the annual session of this District [Muslim League] with your presence.

Gracious Quaid, eight years ago I came to this District from the Punjab as a *mohajir* and settled here. Since then I strove hard for the uplift of the cause of the Muslims, formed Leagues throughout the District, and by the grace of God and under the light of your *qiadat* I have been able to form the District Muslim League, of which the record is there in the Bombay Provincial Muslim League for your honour's perusal.

Respected Quaid, I along with my colleagues did all this only with one single hope that one day we, the mendicants, may be able to have the honour of becoming your host. These are the affections of one and a half lakh Muslims of this District.

Leaders like Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, Qazi Mohammad Isa, and others have accepted our invitation. The District League is purely the League of Muslim labourers. Almost all the office-bearers of the Primary and District Muslim League are labourers. Their chief aim is to demonstrate their feelings and preparedness to sacrifice their very lives for their sacred creed, 'Pakistan'. At the moment their beloved Quaid should blow the bugle. Of course, they are not rich but they possess one thing which the shylocks do not, and that is the loving heart in which the love for their Quaid is deep-rooted.

Would you grace us with your arrival in the first week of February 1942?<sup>1</sup> You can come by one train and leave by the next.

I have the honour to remain,

Most exalted Sir,

Your most dutiful servant,

S. M. BOKHARI

*Municipal Councillor,*

*President, Jalgaon Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied that he could not attend the conference because of previous commitments.

See F. 875/2, QAP. Not printed.

303

*Clement R. Attlee to Mohammad Abdul Jabbar Kheiri*  
*(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)<sup>1</sup>*

F. 361/17

11 DOWNING STREET,  
 WHITEHALL S.W.,  
 5 January 1942

Dear Professor Kheiri,

M. Camille Huysmans has asked me to send to you and your brother the enclosed copy of a letter which he has written to me.

Yours sincerely,  
 C. R. ATTLEE  
*Lord Privy Seal*

Professor Kheiri,  
 M. A., Ph.D.,  
 Ghurfa, Delhi, India

<sup>1</sup>On 24 March 1942. See F. 361/15, QAP. Not printed. Also see the *Dawn*, 24 May 1942, F. 809/362-3, QAP. Not printed.

*Enclosure*  
*Camille Huysmans to Clement R. Attlee*

F. 361/18

BELGIAN PARLIAMENTARY OFFICE,  
 5 HOBART PLACE,  
 LONDON S.W.1,  
 30 December 1941

My dear Minister,

I thank you for transmission of the letter<sup>1</sup> of the two delegates of India. I remember very well their visit, and in my book on the Stockholm Conference, published in the beginning of 1918, at Upsala,



in French language, with the title *Stockholm*, you will find, page 407-408, a summary of the report of the Central Committee of Mahometan [Muslim] [H]industanis.

It is only a summary, but you will see by the text—and I remember by my good memory—that the delegates write truth in the letter, forwarded by you; they suggested in 1917, in their full text, partition of India into a Muslim India and ■ Hindu India.

As they write also, I seemed surprised with their idea, at that moment, but not surprised as the [H]indu[stan] delegates think; surprised that this idea was so strongly connected with some of our own political solutions in Europe.

The very aggressive tune of the statement proves further that it is childish to suppose any British influence in the matter. I hope by this declaration that it will be possible to remove also misunderstanding.

May I ask you, my dear Minister, to send my letter with my best regards, to the delegates of Stockholm who had the good idea to ask you to become their intermediary?

Sincerely yours,  
CAMILLE HUYSMANS

The Rt. Hon. C.R. Attlee, M.P.,  
Lord Privy Seal  
11 Downing Street  
Whitehall, S.W.I.

<sup>1</sup>Enclosure to No. 128.

304

*Muslehodden Saadi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 572/43-4*

ADONI,  
MADRAS PRESIDENCY,  
5 January 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

I am glad to inform you that your birthday celebration was performed here on a very grand scale this year. It has been ■ matter of great pleasure to the Muslims of Adoni in general and members of Adoni Muslim League in particular to note the news of grand

celebrations of your birthday all over the country. I take immense delight in convey[ing] on behalf of Adoni Muslim League and myself hearty congratulations to you on your attaining the age of 65 years and wish for many more such years to come. I take this opportunity to make a present of this humble article—a carpet—which is the first thing produced by the industry, started by the Working Committee of the Adoni Muslim League for the benefit of Muslim widows in Adoni. I may also mention here that Adoni has been famous for the carpet industry in the Deccan as Agra has been noted in Hindustan. I hope that you will be pleased to accept this humble present made by us in honour of your 65th birthday celebration.<sup>1</sup>

I submit herewith a copy, in Urdu, of the resolution<sup>2</sup> passed at the public meeting commenced [sic] for the celebration of your 65th birthday. The resolution is [a] testimony to our full confidence in your leadership and our readiness for sacrifice at your command.

Thanking you very much,

I am,

Yours very obediently,

MUSLEHODDEN

*President, Adoni Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>Appreciating their spirit of sacrifice for the Muslim cause and their implicit faith in his leadership, Jinnah wished them success in their aims. See F.572/47, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See F.572/45-6, QAP. Not printed.

## 305

*H. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 875/3*

FATEHPUR, U. P.,

5 January 1942

*Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam,*

I read with pride the two statements<sup>1</sup> issued by you and published in the newspapers, giving the British Govt. a warning in case they departed from their August offer<sup>2</sup> and arrived at any gentleman's agreement with the Congress over the head of the Muslim League.

Sir, by issuing these bold statements you have truly conveyed the voice of Muslim India, and we the Musalmans feel much pleasure in having such a fearless spokesman like you.

Now, in the light of your statements, I humbly suggest ■ Warning Day (*Youm-e-Tambeeh*), to be observed all over India on a Friday fixed by you, just as we have already observed the Deliverance Day and the Pakistan Day.

I hope such ■ wide demonstration by the Musalmans will open the eyes of the Govt. and [that] they will hesitate to arrive at any settlement with the Congress, ignoring the Muslim League. In the end, I assure you of sacrific[ing] my all on the receipt of your call and pray for your long life and for your correct lead to our sacred goal of Pakistan.

Concluding, may I request you, Sir, to send me a photograph<sup>3</sup> of yours.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours obediently,  
H. M. ISMAIL

<sup>1</sup>Dated 25 December 1941 and 2 January 1942. See Enclosure to No. 295 & F. 826/32-3, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See Enclosure to No. 506, JP, XV, 687-9.

<sup>3</sup>Jinnah advised him to obtain his photograph from some photographer. See F. 875/5, QAP. Not printed.

## 306

*Fatma Begum to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 773/113*

MULTAN ROAD,  
NAWANKOTE, LAHORE,  
6 January 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As I informed you in one of my previous letters, I have taken over the *Eastern Times* from its previous owners and have entrusted it to the experienced and capable hands of my brother, Mr. Abdul Hamid. He has worked under you as the Joint Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League for two years.

My brother is ■ staunch Muslim Leaguer, like his late father Moulvi Mahbub Alam, and I have every confidence that the paper will steadily prosper and serve the cause of the League. I hope that you will kindly watch over his writings and guide him from time to time in this intricate game of the present-time politics. I know he is a thoroughly loyal disciple of yours; in fact he worships you. You

will find him a constant but quiet worker.

With his help and in face of the supreme difficulties and hindrances that are fully well-known to you, we are thinking of putting some life in the Punjab Muslim League, and, therefore, we ask for your blessings in this effort of ours.

With respects and kind regards, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

FATMA BEGUM

*Principal,*

*Jinnah Islamia College for Girls*

307

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 307/130-1*

5 CAMAC STREET,

CALCUTTA,

8 January 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your telegram<sup>1</sup> advising that the 14th and 15th of February suit you for the holding of the Bengal Provincial League Conference at Sirajgunj. I have confirmed the acceptance of that date telegraphically today.

Shaheed, Momin, Tamiz-ud-Din Khan and half a dozen other prominent men and speakers left on a tour of Bengal four days ago. They are meeting with [an] enthusiastic and spontaneous welcome wherever they have visited and are doing very useful work in the country. Nazimuddin returned from Hyderabad two days ago and left early yesterday morning for Feni. He will be joining the others at an appointed meeting place. Moulana Mohammad Akrum Khan, who also commands, in my opinion, as much influence as any other Musalman in Bengal, will arrive from Madhupur today and will leave for the interior tomorrow. He will meet the deputation after two days, doing some amount of public speaking and convening of meetings by himself *en route*.

The students are busy in the districts of Bengal. One of them was arrested last night at Faridpur under the Defence of India Ordinance. He is now under detention. The crime he has committed is that he has spoken harshly against Fazlul Huq for his treacherous act



which has smashed the Muslim solidarity in this Province, at least for the time being. Of course, this arrest, politically speaking and from the point of view of propaganda, is excellent because even the few waverers amongst the students will now rise against Fazlul Huq and those who are with us will be fired with ten times [greater] enthusiasm to carry on their fight for the League in Bengal.

Our newspapers are maintaining their steady barrage of attack on Fazlul Huq. The old man, and I have this information from a very reliable source, is getting hysterical. If this pressure is maintained, I have no doubt that he will be driven off his senses in another two or three months. This sign is already showing itself, for today's newspapers issued a warning from Fazlul Huq that if newspapers continue their attack on him he would be compelled, for nonsensical reasons given in that statement, to apply the Defence of India Act. The League papers do not fear this threat and they are showing their resistance to it by publishing strong leading articles today and tomorrow. You may be sure that no amount of threat and no amount of persecution or prosecution will make us budge one inch from the course that we have taken. Not even hundred Fazlul Huqs will shake us one iota from the stand we have taken. We shall be firm because our cause is just and we shall fight until victory is achieved.

Those of us who are in Calcutta are busy with League work. You have my assurance that not even during the last general election did we concentrate on our work or put our heart and soul into it in the manner we are doing today. *Insha Allah*, God will help us in our attempt to finish Fazlul Huq once and for all, as I said in my reply to the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca that he will learn to his cost that crime, whether political or social, will not pay.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours sincerely,  
HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>See F. 307/129, QAP. Not printed.

308

*Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah**F. 399/19*NEW DELHI,  
10 January 1942

My dear Jinnah,

I hope you are fully recovered now. Happy new year to both of you. Can you make any suggestion<sup>1</sup> for [Akbar] Hydari's successor, a reliable man who can make good speeches and has a certain amount of originality and self-confidence. I do not know what H.E. [the Viceroy] will do but I could press for the right man.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
FIROZ NOON  
Member, Labour,  
National Defence Council

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah regretted that he was unable to make any suggestion. See F. 399/20, QAP. Not printed.

309

*Syed Qamrul Hoda to M. A. Jinnah**F. 827/8-9*SAMASTIPUR,  
10 January 1942

Sir,

On account of the [out] break of the war in the East, the situation in India is disturbed. People are asked to enrol in the civic guard. They come to me to enquire about the direction of the All India Muslim League, specially of the Quaid-i-Azam. There are some people who are not satisfied unless it be the decision of the Quaid-i-Azam. It is owing to this that I have made bold to enquire from you directly instead of approaching [you] through the Provincial Muslim League or the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, as to whether the Muslims should or should not join and enrol themselves in the civic

guard. Many people are awaiting your direction in this matter.

It would not be out of place to mention here that in spite of the fact that many Muslim Leaguers have tendered their resignation from the War Committees of this Sub-Division in obedience to the order of the President of Provincial Muslim League, Bihar, yet they have done so only in name. They are co-operating in all possible ways. They are attending meetings, delivering lectures in War Committees, distributing leaflets amongst the public and helping in many other ways. I informed my higher authorities about some of them but heard nothing in reply; nor has any action been taken against them as yet. The public demand an answer as to why no action is being taken against them. I should have been failing in my duty as a Secretary if I did not inform you of all these happenings at Samastipur. Although it is presumptuous on my part to write to you directly, yet, being helpless as I am, I could not do otherwise than by writing and soliciting your advice and order which will be a source of great direction and guidance for the sub-division as the people are illiterate and they want to hear everything from their Quaid-i-Azam in whom they have got implicit faith.

Hoping to be excused for this eventuality [*sic*],

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SYED QAMRUL HODA

*Secretary,*

*Samastipur Sub-Divisional Muslim League*

310

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani*

*F. 307/133*

*11 January 1942*

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 8th,<sup>1</sup> and I note that the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference at Sirajganj has been finally fixed for the 14th and 15th of February. Please let me know in advance the details of programme before you finally accept any engagement on my behalf.

I am glad that you are all working. I am sure of the success if you

all work in a team. I quite agree with you that ours is a good cause and it is only a question of time.

With kind regards to you all from Miss Jinnah and me,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 307.

## 311

*M. Farid Ahmad Chowdhury to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

ANDERKILLA,  
CHITTAGONG,  
11 January 1942

Dear Sir,

I beg leave to pen a few lines to you. On January 9, Sir Nazimuddin, K. B. Momin, K. B. Moazzamuddin, Moulvi Tamizuddin, Mr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Wasek paid a visit to Chittagong. We were [only] too glad to have them. They addressed a mass meeting in the Muslim Hall premises. Notwithstanding, Chittagong is panic-stricken, people have been away [from] home, [and] the gathering was quite large. At the close of the deliberations of the day, the honourable guests attended our League office accompanied by the members of the League Executive Committee and entered *inter alia* upon a discussion on the line of work appropriate to the time and circumstances, imparting instructions as to how best it should be carried into operation. Then after dinner, we bade them our adieu.

But our joy on the occasion was not unmixed. In the course of the proceedings of the meeting, at the sad intelligence of Mr. Fazlul Quader's arrest, while *en route* to Chittagong as one of the League delegation, the assembly put on an appearance of dejection and melancholy. This is the way Shyama-Huq Ministry have introduced themselves on their debut. However, the step would only serve to wake us wide. It would be ■ means to our end. It would be invigorating in effect. Come what may, we are ever ready to face [sic].

Had this tour been four months ahead, the situation in our favour would have been a great deal different. To render the designs of the satanic minds around us fruitless, if I am not wrong, I would hold, in view of educating the opinions of our ignorant people, in the light of the tenets [of] our mission, political, social and economic, that the



present system of touring programme may be kept continuous. Yet our people live much back [sic] the time. They require much of light and purification.

And by this opportunity I am glad to forward, for your kind perusal, a copy of the address presented to the delegation, aforesaid, by the District Muslim League together with a copy of the resolutions, discussed and adopted at the meeting.

Please give us your blessing<sup>2</sup> so that we may come well out of the struggle.

My respectful compliments to you,

Yours sincerely,  
M. F. A. CHOWDHURY  
*President,*  
*Chittagong District Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters* II, 23.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah thanked him for the information and advised him to continue the struggle. See Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 36.

## 312

*M. A. Jinnah to H. S. Suhrawardy*

*F. 458/34*

*11 January 1942*

Dear Mr. Suhrawardy,

Many thanks for your wire<sup>1</sup> and fixing the conference [of Bengal Provincial Muslim League] for the 14th and 15th of February.

I am very glad to hear that your tour was successful. If you work in a team, as you are doing, I am sure you will succeed. It is only a question of time. Ours is an honest, straightforward and good stand and I am sure not only Musalmans of Bengal but of all India will stand by you and support you.

Please let me know the details of the programme and specially my engagements beforehand and please do not commit me to any of the engagements without my final approval.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See F. 458/32, QAP. Not printed.

313

*Syed Abdur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah**F. 561/59-60*DARYAGANJ,  
DELHI,

12 January 1942

Beloved leader,

I hope that you have seen the issues of the *Dawn* of January 4<sup>1</sup> and January 11.<sup>2</sup> I do not know if you have been pleased to go through all the proceedings of the Muslim Students Federation at Nagpur in both the issues of the *Dawn*, including your concluding speech in Urdu at the closing session of the Federation, which was listened to with great interest, inspiration and enthusiasm. I saw some people actually crying and praying. "God—spare our beloved leader Jinnah for many more years to come—spare him, God, until we have got back the glories of Islam." That was ■ very moving scene. Your words produced a miraculous effect.

I noticed one thing in the press this time, and ■ think you must have been the first to observe it. None of the newspapers gave publicity to the second resolution of the Working Committee,<sup>3</sup> which was a very important one. There seems to have been an attempt to suppress it. The result was that even the Muslim newspapers like the *Deccan Times* [and] *Star of India* had failed to give due publicity in time as their only source of information was the Associated Press and the other daily papers. Until your statement of January 2<sup>4</sup> was issued from Bombay the Muslim public of India appear to have been entirely in the dark about the second resolution (regarding the shouldering of the burden of the defence of the country singly or in co-operation with other parties on the basis of real share [of power] and responsibility etc.). The first resolution, however, was fully published in the newspapers. Only *Hitavada* of Nagpur reproduced all the resolutions correctly and later the *Dawn*, which alone must inform the public of the full text of all the resolutions. Your Bombay statement, therefore, was undoubtedly very well-timed, which all the papers have published and which must have opened the eyes of the general public regarding resolution No. 2 particularly. Copies of the resolutions were, of course, sent to the Viceroy by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib immediately after his return

from Nagpur.

One word more and I have done. Prof. Haleem, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh, privately told me that about half a dozen Congress hirelings at Aligarh are trying to hold a conference at Aligarh and invite Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, *Rashtrapati* Abul Kalam Azad and others to participate in that conference with a view to undermining the strength of the League-minded students of Aligarh. He suggested that to counteract this effect [*sic* for move]—good or bad, whatever it may be—it is better that your kind self, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and others pay another visit to the University after this farce. I shall be obliged if you will very kindly write a line in answer<sup>3</sup> to this suggestion for conveying it to Prof. Haleem.

Kindly forgive me for this long letter. With the earnest prayer that God may give you the longest life and the best of health,

I remain,

Yours most respectfully,  
 SYED ABDUR RAHMAN  
*Assistant Secretary,*  
*All India Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>F. 809/122-33, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>F. 809/134-45, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>AFM 136/93-6. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>See F. 826/32-3, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>5</sup>See No. 319.

## 314

*Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 197/48-50*

23 LAWRENCE ROAD,  
 LAHORE,  
 12 January 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 22nd December 1941.<sup>1</sup> I am writing this to say that the Rawalpindi branch of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation has suggested that the next annual session of the Federation may be held at Rawalpindi and that we may request you to kindly preside at the session. Our Organizing Secretary, Mr. Iftikharullah, has told us that you expressed to him at Nagpur your willingness to come to the Punjab and preside at the session.



Yesterday a meeting of our Council and Working Committee was held and the members have authorized me to convey this unanimous request of theirs to you. The Rawalpindi MSF have assured us that they will make adequate arrangements for the session. A sub-committee of the PMSF has been appointed to see that this is done. The Pindi MSF has asked me to request you to agree to the session being held on the 28th February and 1st March next as these dates would suit the students best. Kindly let me know at your earliest convenience if you agree to the proposal. We shall all feel very grateful to you.

Yesterday at our meeting a member proposed that we should hold counter-demonstrations on the (Congress) Independence Day or else hold our own Pakistan Day. I opposed the proposal, which was dropped. Apart from the advisability of avoiding all such clashes, I think that in accordance with our general position that we are not a political organization, we should not take part in day-to-day politics. I would like you kindly to throw some light on this question, as there is a section of our young men who want to show political activity publicly. As I told Mr. Noman (and I asked him to tell you everything in detail) the PMSF should, under the present conditions in the Punjab, devote itself mainly to non-political activities. This means that we should pass political resolutions at our annual session only or, if necessary, on one or two other occasions, but that we should not pass such resolutions very often or express our opinion about what happens from day to day in Indian politics. This is the work of the Muslim League. Of course, the PMSF is a staunch supporter of the League and would always make this clear at its annual session.

To take an example. At our meeting of yesterday, we passed a resolution of sympathy with the General Secretary of the All India Muslim Students Federation who is reported to have been arrested in Bengal. One of our members also proposed that we should pass a resolution against the Muslims who had joined the Viceroy's Executive Council or Defence Council. The proposal was dropped for the time being. I expressed the view that we shall pass such a resolution at our forthcoming annual session if you so desired. Please let me know if my attitude is correct.

When Mr. Noman was last here and he (and the students) pressed me again to accept the presidency of the PMSF, I told him that if the All India MSF and you desired or thought it necessary that PMSF should do political work regularly and actively participate in the Pakistan propaganda, I should certainly not oppose it as I was a sincere Muslim Leaguer, but would then ask not to be made the



leader of the students as, firstly, I did not think that it was expedient that the students should do such work and, secondly, because being of a peaceful literary bent of mind I was not fit for doing this sort of strenuous practical work.

I shall be obliged if you would [sic for will] kindly express your opinion for my guidance and for the guidance of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation.

With kind regards and hoping you are quite fit,

Yours sincerely,  
BASHIR AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>No. 292.

## 315

*Wahidur Rahaman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 875/8*

PAKISTAN ROAD,  
FENI, NOAKHALI,  
BENGAL,  
12 January 1942

Dear Sir,

I am very glad to write to you about our firm faith and confidence in your leadership and the Pakistan scheme, the goal of Muslim India and the only solution of Hindu-Muslim problem; and for which success every Muslim of India, as I think, is ready to shed the last drop of [his] blood. You may get tired of a long letter, so I am trying to make an end of this letter, of course, after giving you some idea about our confidence from a Muslim League meeting, held at Feni, a small town in the District of Noakhali in Bengal (having its political importance) under the presidency of Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin. All the great [sic] Muslim League leaders of Bengal were present. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy hoisted the Muslim League flag, the only national flag of Muslim India. In course of flag-hoisting ceremony he made a short but moving speech. More than one lakh of men attended the meeting. This is sufficient proof of what a tremendous hold the All India Muslim League has in the remotest subdivision like Feni. You cannot imagine what amount of reliance and faith we have in your leadership. We, the Muslim students of Bengal, are ready to go to jails, we will not sit idle, we have

dedicated our lives to the cause of Muslim community. It is impossible for that wretched and self-deluded A. K. Fazlul 'hog' to bisect Muslim Bengal. We shall make the movements of [his] Muslim MLAs of Bengal impossible in rural areas. Mir Jafar lost his kingdom within three years but this 'Mir Jafar of Barisal' shall lose his influence over a few MLAs within three months. Muslim Bengal, particularly the students, shall not withstand this. I shall not disturb you any more.<sup>1</sup>

May God grant you long life and sound health, if not for anything else at least for the maintenance of Islam [sic] and its humble followers,

Yours faithfully,  
WAHIDUR RAHAMAN

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah thanked him for sending him a report of the conference held at Feni. See F. 875/7, QAP. Not printed.

## 316

*Roger Lumley to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 141/4-4A

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
BOMBAY,  
13 January 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have Professor Coupland staying with me until the end of the week. He is, as I think you know, ■ Fellow of All Souls [College], Oxford, and is engaged on a study of the Indian political situation on behalf of the Nuffield Trust. He is anxious to meet you and I would be delighted if you would care to come to lunch either tomorrow, on Wednesday or on Thursday. Thursday would suit me better as my wife will be here on that day and not on Wednesday, but if Wednesday is better for you, let it be Wednesday. You will perhaps want to have a longer talk with Professor Coupland; that could be arranged between you later, but I hope very much that you will come here to meet him—that would also give me the opportunity of a word with you.<sup>1</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
ROGER LUMLEY

PS. There will be no luncheon party; only those staying in the house.

<sup>1</sup>See No. 13, TP, I, 25-9, for Lumley's report ■ Jinnah's meeting with Coupland.

317

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah**F. 307/134-5*

5 CAMAC STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
14 January 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Muslim League delegation's reception everywhere they have so far visited was a triumphal success! They are drawing ten times as large gatherings as they did when they visited the same spots as Ministers, and this is a lot!

[Fazlul] Huq ventured out with his circus. The first place on his programme was Barisal, his stronghold in the Province. He was met by [sic for with] big black-flag demonstrations all along the route and I am told he had to order police intervention at most of the stations. He had on his train a substantial police force. At Barisal the students forced an address on him which was full of his condemnation for having sold the Muslims of Bengal to the arch-enemy—the Mahasabha. He closed his ears. Many students were arrested. He got up to address the meeting but did not speak for more than three or four minutes, and sat down saying that his voice had failed him!

He did not go to Bhola and cancelled the rest of his tour on the plea that urgent work necessitated his and his colleagues' return to Calcutta.

He left Calcutta with the mandate of the Cabinet to give, on behalf of the Government, extensive agricultural loans to the cultivators who had been completely wiped off [sic] by the havoc of the last cyclone. Yet, he could not muster the courage to go there!

He is trying to muzzle the *Azad*. He is threatening the application of the Defence of India Rules if the *Azad* continues to write in its present strain. We are willing to stand the persecution, come what may.

We defeated the official candidate of the Huq-Mukerjee Government for the Aldermanship of the Corporation. Sarat Bose was defeated. Dr. B. C. Roy won and the League's votes gave him the victory.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

318

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah**F. 307/136*

5 CAMAC STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
15 January 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of the 11th instant<sup>1</sup> which came to hand yesterday.

On [Huseyn] Shaheed's return from tour I shall be in a position to let you know the proposals that are forthcoming. These will be sent to you for your approval. No programme will be 'okayed' before I receive your confirmation.

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

PS. Momin rang me up just now. He has returned from tour. The reception everywhere was magnificent—Huq did return from Barisal, humiliated.

<sup>1</sup>No. 310.

319

*M. A. Jinnah to Syed Abdur Rahman**F. 561/61*

15 January 1942

Dear Mr. Abdur Rahman,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you very much for your good wishes for me. Yes, I know, our publicity and propaganda management is far from vigilant, nor is it fully organised, and hence the second resolution<sup>2</sup> of the Working Committee did not receive that publicity which it ought to have received. However, I have made up the deficiency by issuing my statement,<sup>3</sup> which was even wired to England.

With regard to your suggestion about Aligarh, yes, I hope to visit Aligarh again during the Assembly sessions, but I cannot, at present,



fix even approximate time. The matter will certainly receive my consideration when I am in Delhi.

Hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Abdur Rahman, Esq.,  
Central Office,  
All India Muslim League,  
Daryaganj, Delhi

<sup>1</sup>No. 313.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 313, note 3.

<sup>3</sup>Enclosure to No. 295.

320

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/244*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
16 January 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

We have been out of touch for long. I think you are aware of the differences between the Sind Governor and the Sind Ministry. They have taken a serious turn. H.E. the Viceroy had been here and I interviewed him. I have given him a Memorandum in writing. I enclose a copy of it for your kind perusal. I hope you will take the trouble of going through it. The Ministers have also represented their case to the Viceroy. Now there are two possibilities:

- i. either the Ministers will compromise with the Governor, or
- ii. they will be dismissed.

In any case, the position will be clear by the end of the month. In the event of the Ministry being dismissed and our party being called in to say whether it can form an alternative Ministry, we shall naturally request you to come down to Sind for a few days and look into the whole thing.

May I have a copy of your programme for the remaining portion of the current month and the beginning of the next.

With very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

*Enclosure**H. Abdoola Haroon to Marquess of Linlithgow**F. 274/245-53*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
6 January 1942

## MEMORANDUM

May it please Your Excellency,

I, in my capacity as the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, beg most respectfully to extend ■ hearty welcome to Your Excellency on your visit to this Province.

2. On an occasion [such] as this, I have been desired and duly authorised by the Sind Provincial Muslim League to place before Your Excellency's foot [sic] certain facts relating to the affairs of Musalmans of Sind which deserve Your Excellency's sympathetic consideration.

3. Before I represent the Muslim viewpoint with regard to matters of provincial concern, I would beg to be permitted to state that the Muslims of this Province feel that their claim to a certain proportion in the services of the Central Government has not hitherto met with due recognition. Neither in the Railways nor in His Majesty's Customs [do] they receive their due share of appointments even though the Karachi Customs as well as the North Western Railways have been deriving considerable income from this Province. Muslims think that they have a right to be represented even in the Central Secretariat and in all the branches of the central administration. At the present moment, there is no dearth of suitable candidates to fill appointments of all grades and kinds and as such they hope that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to give a sympathetic consideration to this prayer which involves the interests of nearly more than three millions of His Majesty's subjects. We do not necessarily urge that all non-Sindhis be completely excluded from the personnel of the centrally-controlled departments in Sind but what we crave for is that there should be a fair distribution of appointments, the Sindhi Muslims being properly represented therein. Even in respect of superior services it will not be beyond reason if, in view of their backwardness, a few seats are periodically filled in with Sindhi Muslims by means of nomination, which step will naturally go a long way to solve [sic for towards solving] the

question of unemployment among the educated Musalmans of this Province.

4. Your Excellency is aware of the problem of the [Sukkur] Barrage debt which Sind owes to the Central Government. Although it is primarily a concern of the Provincial Government to formally represent Sind's case to Your Excellency's Government, still as it involves a matter which affects chiefly the Muslim agricultural population of this Province, it will not be out of place if I venture to submit that in view, among others, of the following grounds, Your Excellency's Government will be pleased to consider Sind's case regarding the remission of the Barrage debt with the sympathy that it deserves:

- a. That Sind is already a deficit Province, and it makes its *[sic]* both ends meet only on the basis of the annual subsidy which it gets from the central funds.
- b. That the Central Government derives considerable revenue from Sind through Customs, Railways, Import and Excise Duty, Posts and Telegraphs Departments.
- c. That the taxable capacity of the people has already been reached *[sic]* and there is now no margin left.
- d. That the forecast about the scheme prepared by the experts of the old Bombay Government and the Government of India and sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India have not materialised in their entirety.
- e. That Sind having just been separated [from Bombay], it requires vast outlay to reconstruct various branches of its life and administration. If this Province, which is yet in a state of infancy, is burdened with this huge debt it will be difficult for it to make any progress and bring itself on an equal footing with the other provinces in India.
- f. The Barrage having upset the old system of irrigation, many parts of the Province, which formerly were very fertile, are now without adequate water supply. The proverbial poverty of the Sindhi peasant does not permit him to give up his old holdings and acquire new ones within the Barrage zone. In order to mitigate his distress, the Province must sooner or later undertake some new schemes of improvement, which it would be impossible to contemplate in the event of Sind being compelled to comply with the financial commitments entered into by the old Bombay Government.
- g. Even from the point of view of political and administrative expediency it would be in the fitness of things if excessive



strain is not imposed on the financial resources of the people of this frontier province who are economically in an unsatisfactory state. Our humble prayer is that the case of Sind should be considered on a par with that of Baluchistan and N.W.F. Province.

5. Another request which I have been desired to convey to Your Excellency is that in the matter of enforcement of the provisions of the Indian Arms Act, some relaxation may be shown in respect of this Province. The reasons on which this indulgence is sought are these:

- a. That Sind, geographically, is surrounded by Indian States which have no restriction on arms. In addition, the economic condition of their inhabitants being unsatisfactory, many of their people are known for their criminal propensities. Armed with lethal weapons, gangs of criminals keep visiting Sind in order to commit major type of crime. Not only that; their constant contact with the turbulent elements in this Province is also having a general baneful influence. Against such unhealthy circumstances, the peaceful citizens of this Province have no means of protection. In our humble opinion the only way by which these conditions can be met is that a more liberal policy be followed in arming people who satisfy certain conditions. So far the experience gained has proved that mere increase in the personnel of the police cannot solve this situation. At the present moment Sind has been spending nearly 1/4th of its own intrinsic revenue on police and yet there is no appreciable fall in the crime rate. Thus it will be appreciated that further increase in the expenditure of police is not going to solve the problem of crime. Nor can we possibly hope that in a province like this where over 30 lakhs of its people are scattered over rural areas—with very few permanent roads and limited means of transport and access—it is possible for the police to be more effective than it has been hitherto.
- b. That the only effective method of putting the crime down in this Province is to arm deserving people and teach the villagers the art of self-reliance in cases of emergency. If the present qualifications prescribed for the grant of gun licences in this Province are, as a special case, slightly lowered, this objective will easily be achieved and the people living in the villages will be inspired [sic] with greater sense of security.



6. Our final request is that in [the] case of this Province, fresh elections to the local legislature may not be postponed. Even though it is primarily within the province of H.E. the Governor to hold the elections or order otherwise, we think it involves a matter of higher policy in the shaping of which Your Excellency's Government will naturally have the most effective voice. In order to convince Your Excellency of the reasonableness and urgency of this prayer, we would solicit Your Excellency's permission to review briefly the events following the separation and inauguration of autonomy in this Province:

- i. The Hindu minority was opposed to the scheme of separation from the very beginning.
- ii. The said Hindu minority was far more advanced than the Muslim majority educationally, economically and politically.
- iii. The scheme of allocation of seats in the legislature embodied in the Communal Award augmented the strength of the Hindu minority by means of weightage.
- iv. Separation of Sind, in spite of its opposition, was deemed by the Hindu minority as [sic for to be] ■ matter of personal affront and consequently its representatives in the new legislature decided to follow a policy by which to prove the separation a failure and facilitate Sind's re-amalgamation with Bombay—which was pre-eminently ■ Hindu Province.
- v. On the eve of the first elections to the local legislature, the Hindus did not respond to the Muslim invitation to join a non-communal party (the Sind United Party) and instead created communal parties of their own and followed isolationist policies.
- vi. After the elections were over, the position of the various parties inside the legislature stood as follows:
  - a. The [Sind] United Party (a non-communal party) commanded ■ following of over 21 members (all Muslims).
  - b. A certain Muslim communal party commanded a following of only six members. This party was headed by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah.
  - c. The Hindu and the Congress parties commanded the following of all the 22 Hindu members.
- vii. Normally, it was the first party, which was the largest one, that should have been called upon to form the ministry, but instead, as ill luck would have it, H. E. Sir Lancelot Graham invited the second party with an inherent following of only

six to form the first cabinet of Sind. This party, in order to build up ■ workable majority, took [*sic* for had] recourse to methods which gave birth to ■ number of evils that have made the existence of stable parties and ministries an impossibility. Needless to mention that no session of the legislature was called till the following August and till considerable amount of bitterness, rancour, corruption and confusion had spread. It will be appreciated that it must not have been an easy job for a party of six to convert itself into a majority without recourse to methods not necessarily conducive to the establishment of healthy practices or to the purity of administration. Incidentally, the Hindu parties played no small part in creating conditions in which the majority began to feel that its rights were not safe.

- viii. That since then Sind has had no peaceful time and there [have been] frequent changes of the ministries which eliminated all possibilities of administrative stability and the continuity of policies.
- ix. That conditions [such] as those were not unprecedented in the annals of countries where democratic constitutions had been introduced, and it was in order to overcome those difficulties that the constitutions generally provided for certain remedial provisions [*sic*]. And when situations arose which called for recourse to those remedies, the constitutional heads of those countries did not hesitate to intervene and set things right. Under our own constitution also, His Excellency the Governor had certain inherent powers which he could have conveniently used in order to ensure the stability of ministries. One of those powers was the power of dissolution of the legislature and ■ fresh appeal to the electorate to return a more stable ministry which may save the administrative machinery from falling into decay. But instead of any such purifying step being taken, there came into existence a practice whereby the holding of sessions was discountenanced and except [for] the budget session, which was necessarily to be held and which invariably brought into being a new ministry every time, very few other sessions were called which may have met [*sic* for lasted] for more than a week. This unwholesome practice tended to prevent the transaction of much of the useful work which the people expected at the hands of the legislators and ushered in an era of endless intrigue.

- x. In the judgement of your humble memorialist, this Province owes its present misfortunes to those initial mistakes. It is to this state of affairs that the root cause could be traced of the ministerial instability, administrative laxity, general atmosphere of insecurity, high crime rate, and organised terrorism followed by the failure of the administration of law and order to retrieve the situation.
- xi. During the last four years, Sind has had no peaceful time owing to the weakness of the administration of law and order. Terrorist crime has become almost a normal feature of life. Hundreds of people have fallen prey to the assassins' hatchet, and armed gangs of terrorists have been carrying on their depredations without any fear of the arm of law reaching them. If Your Excellency calls for a comprehensive list of crimes of this nature committed during the last three years, Your Excellency will easily be in a position to realise the gravity of the situation. And the matter will appear all the more serious when Your Excellency makes note of the fact that hardly one per cent of the offenders involved in this type of crime have been brought to book. This scandalous state of affairs has been there for several years without the administration having been able to improve it even to the slightest degree. This deplorable failure is due to the fact that on account of political conditions, enumerated above, the administration of law and order has lost all its previous awe and prestige. There is no possibility of any substantial improvement unless the basic causes of disorder are removed and some spectacular steps are taken to revive the majesty of [the] law in this Province.
- xii. In addition to the general atmosphere of insecurity and disorder, numerous other evils and vices have come into existence. I do not think it would be proper on my part to tax Your Excellency's time by including a catalogue of those evils in this representation. If Your Excellency advises the Provincial Government to appoint ■ court of inquiry, under the Sind Public Enquiries Act of 1940, to examine and report on the affairs of this Province of the last 5 years, I am sure Your Excellency will be convinced that there is considerable force in what I have submitted above.
- xiii. Casually, I may also venture to submit that the Muslim community is not satisfied with the present state of affairs



and feels that its rights are not safe under the existing conditions. Even in matters such as distribution of appointments, promotions and transfers, the Muslims feel [that] they are not receiving full justice.

- xiv. That the present legislature has by now nearly outlived its normal term and its usefulness.
- xv. That as the present legislature is the outcome of our people's very first experiment in the field of autonomy, it would be proper if they are given ■ fresh opportunity of profiting from their last 5 years experience.
- xvi. That in the opinion of your humble memorialist, it would not be difficult to hold fresh elections in this Province in spite of the War. The Local Board elections were held all over the Province last year without any untoward incident.

7. In conclusion, the Muslims of this Province hope that Your Excellency's visit to the Province will enable it to turn [over] a new leaf in its life and that the present state of affairs will come to an early end, ushering in a new era of greater security, better administration and purer public life.

I beg to subscribe myself,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

[ABDOOLA HAROON]

Marquess of Linlithgow,

Viceroy and Governor-General of India, at Karachi

## 321

*Sudhir Ghosh to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

16 ELGIN ROAD,  
CALCUTTA,  
16 January 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Metropolitan [of India, Foss Westcott] desires me to write to you and to convey to you his greetings. He is deeply concerned about the political situation in India and is anxious to do all in his power to end the present deadlock. For sometime past, he has been wondering if he could make himself useful in promoting better understanding between our two great organisations—the Muslim



League and the Congress. With this end in view, he has asked me to communicate with you, Sir, and with Mr. C. Rajagopalacharia of the Congress. If his invitations were acceptable to you and to Mr. Rajagopalacharia, he would be most happy to arrange a discussion on the political situation as soon as possible at his house here in the hope of finding a new road to a national coalition.

The Metropolitan would be very grateful for an answer<sup>2</sup> and, in case you decided to come, he would be delighted if you would do him the honour of staying with him.

I am, Sir,

Yours sincerely,

SUDHIR GHOSH

*Clerk to The Conciliation Group*

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, II, 24.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 326.

## 322

*Hasan Reyaz to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

DARYAGANJ,

DELHI,

17 January 1942

Dear Sir,

Happily, the session of the All India Muslim Students Federation, in which you had to speak,<sup>2</sup> and also the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, [were] held at a right time. The combined blitz of the Hindu organizations, as is evident from Mr. Amery's recent statement<sup>3</sup> in the House of Commons, has been warded off successfully.

The great speech which you had delivered at Nagpur has been published in the *Dawn*, and its literal translation in the *Manshoor*, which will be reproduced in the Urdu press, as usual, and the whole Muslim India would be inspired by it.

During the last two months and a half I have spent most of my spare time in straightening the management of the *Dawn* and the work has been brought under control. The circulation of the *Dawn* is increasing with much greater speed than I [had] expected. It is now

2,800. This number of circulation, within thirteen weeks and for a weekly, is very encouraging.<sup>4</sup> But the *Dawn* has yet to make much improvement to deserve this public response.

As for the central office, only the correspondence side has been regulated greatly owing to the addition of Syed Abdur Rahman but the initiative, which is the main thing, is still lacking.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
HASAN REYAZ

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, II, 25.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 809/122-3 & 129-32, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>Dated 8 January 1942. See *Keesing's Contemporary Archives 1940-1943*, 5027.

<sup>4</sup>Jinnah expressed his pleasure over the progress made by the *Dawn*. See Rizwan Ahmad, *Letters*, II, 37. Not printed.

## 323

*Fatma Begum to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 769/179-80*

NAWANKOTE,  
MULTAN ROAD, LAHORE,  
18 January 1942

Dear Sir,

I think you would be very glad to know that the Punjab Muslim Girl Students Federation, which was founded in December of the previous year, is making progress with rapid strides. Within the short period of two months, we have been able to have nearly 1,000 members on our roll. We are still trying and we hope that we will be able to reach the goal which we have in view. The girls of the Punjab are stirred [up] and they will soon rise from their lethargy. God willing once they are out in the field, the men are sure to lead them, help them and guide them in any difficulty which they [may] come across.

We have heard that you are going to Rawalpindi in March. We were simply overjoyed to know this. I, on behalf of all the Muslim girl students of the Punjab, request you to pay us the honour of your visit. No doubt, we are young girls but still we find in our hearts a zeal and enthusiasm which is no momentary thing. Your kind visit

will kindle our zeal and fire [sic] our enthusiasm. Do pay [sic] us this honour of which we do not seem capable [sic]. We are just like that old woman who went to buy *Hazrat Yousuf* with ■ bundle of cotton! We have come to you to invite you. Our number has not reached thousands ■ yet. But still the few of us, who have joined this Federation, have got hearts full of feelings. It is only on this ground that we find enough courage to ask you to come to us. Please do let us know when you are coming to Rawalpindi<sup>1</sup> so that we may be able to arrange for your reception which befits your honourable personality. I hope you would consider the humble invitation of your daughters who are always ready to give you their services as you may demand.

I request you once again to consider it and let us know the date of your arrival.

Yours obediently,

FATMA

*Principal,*

*Jinnah Islamia College for Girls*

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied that he would not be going to Rawalpindi. See F. 769/181, QAP. Not printed.

## 324

*M. A. Jinnah to Zahur Ahmad*

*F. 578/52-3*

*18 January 1942*

Dear Zahur Ahmad,

Many thanks for your telegram.<sup>1</sup> I am most thankful to you and other Muslim League leaders for your cordial and enthusiastic invitation to undertake to welcome the session of the All India Muslim League at Allahabad during the next Easter holidays. I have accepted the invitation and intimated it to the Working Committee of your Provincial Muslim League. I appeal to all the Musalmans of U.P. and particularly of Allahabad to make this session a real success by affording all help and support to the organisers.

Judging by the reception that was given to me on my visit to Allahabad last time, I am sure the Musalmans of Allahabad

will rise to the occasion and make it the greatest success by their whole-hearted support.

Wishing you all success,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Zahur Ahmad, Esq.,  
President,  
City Muslim League,  
Allahabad

<sup>1</sup>Zahur Ahmad had requested Jinnah's attendance at the forthcoming session of the All India Muslim League, and his message for the session. See F. 578/51, QAP. Not printed.

## 325

*N. B. Khare to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, CP & Berar II/112*

DHANTOLI,  
NAGPUR,  
18 January 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am in due receipt of yours of 4th December 1941<sup>1</sup> in reply to my letter, dated 1st December 1941.<sup>2</sup> You have said therein that you have not heard anything from Mr. Rauf Shah. After receipt of your letter, Mr. Rauf Shah happened to meet me and told me that he had written to you as the leader of the party and President of the Provincial Muslim League. Doubtless, he must have conveyed to you the terms and conditions and programme on which we have agreed to form a coalition in this Province to carry on the administration within the framework of the present constitution.

In this connection, I may inform you that I lead a party of 47 members comprising different groups in the legislature like Ambedkarites, all of Harijans, United Party, Aney group, but excluding the Muslim Leaguers whose number is 10; so that if these ten join in the coalition, the number will be 57 in a House of 112, but at present consisting only of 110 members as there are two vacancies which have not been filled. It is, therefore, a clear majority.

I did not pursue the matter in December because the Working Committee was to meet at that time and perhaps a change in their policy with regard to the parliamentary programme might have taken



place; but that ghost has now been finally laid at Wardha on 16th instant and there is no chance of the Congress policy being revised. At Wardha, 52 voted for Bardoli resolution, i.e. for Mr. Rajagopalachari and 15 against it and 123 remained neutral. This shows the future strength against Mr. Rajagopalachari to be used when necessary or opportune. So there is nothing doing in that quarter.

I, therefore, want to approach the authorities now with a view to trying to form ■ ministry; unofficial enquiries in the matter from official quarters have already begun and we have already adjusted matters by agreement among ourselves. Now I formally request you to kindly accord your sanction to the proposal.

Expecting ■ favourable and speedy reply,<sup>3</sup> and with best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
N. B. KHARE

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah informed him that he had not heard from Rauf Shah who might write to him directly. See SHC (1637). Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>No. 251.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 329.

## 326

*M. H. Saiyid to Sudhir Ghosh<sup>1</sup>*

18 January 1942

Dear Sir,

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has received your letter of the 16th of January 1942<sup>2</sup> and wishes to convey to the Metropolitan [Foss Westcott] that while he appreciates the desire and good intention on the part of the Metropolitan, he regrets that he is unable to accept the invitation to go to Calcutta.

As regards the question of Mr. Jinnah's discussing the matter with Mr. Rajagopalachari he will be only too glad to see him and have a talk with him in connection with the political situation if he so desires.

Yours faithfully,  
M. H. SAIYID

*Private Secretary to M. A. Jinnah*

Sudhir Ghosh, Esq.,  
Clerk to The Conciliation Group,  
16 Elgin Road,  
Calcutta

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 35.

<sup>2</sup>No. 321.

327

*S. M. Zauqi to M. A. Jinnah**SHC (1647)*

DHANMANDI, AJMER,  
19 January 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of the 3rd instant.<sup>1</sup>

This happens to be [the] first day of the Muslim new year so I wish you a happy new year and many happier years in the future. Your excellent, comprehensive and illuminative [*sic* for illuminating] speech<sup>2</sup> at Nagpur deserves a wider circulation, in a decent pamphlet form, not only in India but also in England and the USA. Although we do not care what [the] people in England and America think of us, it will look better if we let the world know our case correctly and clearly.

The only thing which torments me is the present inactivity of the Muslims. Just look at the extensive scale on which our other countrymen are preparing for the coming events. While Muslims are sitting with folded hands staring at one another, periodical outbursts of spectacular demonstrations are all right as far as they go, but unless backed by solid work they cannot carry us very far. We are badly in need of a sufficient number of earnest workers, a better-managed propaganda and a closer all-round vigil. Are you quite sure we have no other Fazlul Huq ready to turn tail at the least temptation. I suggest that we have a committee of three competent members to remain constantly on tour from place to place and province to province watching local conditions, inspecting local work, infusing the right spirit into the masses and helping to bring about co-ordination, harmony and honest work. The National Guard is the crying need of the moment. The world is moving very fast. Others are acting vigorously according to their own lights. We cannot afford to lag behind. Despite the most encouraging fact of the phenomenal rise of the Muslim League in so short a time, we have to

do a lot before the desired success becomes possible.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
[S. M. ZAUQI]

<sup>1</sup>No. 299.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 322, note 2.

## 328

*M. A. Jinnah to Mian Bashir Ahmad*

*F. 197/51*

*19 January 1942*

Dear Mr. Bashir Ahmad,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th of January<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it. I have already expressed my opinion,<sup>2</sup> and it was published in your local papers<sup>3</sup> not very long ago, as to what is the primary duty of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation and then again there is the constitution itself which should guide you and the members belonging to the organisation. I again, at Nagpur, made it quite clear, and my speech was fully reported in the *Dawn*,<sup>4</sup> and also a summary of it was published in other newspapers.

With regard to the proposal of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation to hold their next session at Rawalpindi and their request to me to go to Rawalpindi, I cannot commit myself just now. But while I am in Delhi, I would like to meet the office-bearers of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation and discuss matters with them and see whether it can be arranged.

I am glad you are guiding the students, but you must have patience and also firmness. You must stick to the aims and objects of the constitution of the All India Muslim Students Federation, a copy of which you can easily obtain.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Mian Bashir Ahmad,  
Bar-at-Law, Lahore

<sup>1</sup>No. 314.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 226.

<sup>3</sup>F. 769/255, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>See No. 322, note 2.

329

*M. A. Jinnah to N. B. Khare**SHC, CP & Berar II/113*

20 January 1942

Dear Dr. Khare,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it. I have already pointed out to you that unless I am satisfied that you have a clear majority and authority to discuss the question of coalition with the Muslim League Party, it is not possible for us to make any headway. From your letter, I gather that you expect 47 members comprising different groups in the legislature apart from the Muslim Leaguers. But you do not give any further information as to what those groups are, whether they have signed to join your party, whether they have authorised you to negotiate with the Muslim League and what are your proposals.

It seems to me that the whole thing is so vague. Unless you give definite information and definite proposals either to Mr. Rauf Shah or to me, it is not possible really to give you any answer.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Dr. N. B. Khare,  
Dhantoli, Nagpur

<sup>1</sup>No. 325.

330

*M. A. Jinnah to H. Abdoola Haroon**F. 274/243*

21 January 1942

Dear Sir Abdoola,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th<sup>1</sup> along with a copy of the memorandum submitted by you to His Excellency the Viceroy and I shall await the result.

Of course, I have been watching the developments in Sind with very keen interest.

As regards my programme I can only tell you tentatively that I hope to be in Delhi in the first week of February, and I have also



accepted an engagement in Bengal to preside over the conference of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League at Sirajganj on the 14th and 15th of February.

I fully realise that the situation in Sind is very appalling and unbearable, but the only course open to us is to organise our people as a disciplined nation and the other things must follow. It requires time and patience and strenuous and constant efforts. I feel confident that we shall come out successful in the end.

Hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 320.

## 331

*Shamshuddin Shabuddin to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 27/344

GAMDEVI RESCUE DEPOT,  
GOWLIA TANK,  
BOMBAY,  
22 January 1942

Dear Sir,

I most humbly and respectfully beg to bring to your kind notice and merciful consideration the fact that I happen to pass in [*sic*] such a locality where I find mostly *purdah*-observing [veiled] Muslim ladies standing for the purchase of ■ single *pailie* of rice just to maintain their family for a day or two. They have to wait the whole day long for a *pailie* of rice. Among these waiters there may be some females who could not get even a single *pailie* of rice and there may be some who are suffering from starvation for the last four days and shedding tears out [*sic*] of their eyes. I am led to shed tears when I see this awful sight of these females.

I am a driver working in the A.R.P. and am supplying rice to Govt. grain shops. I am a poor driver and in no way able to help these females.

In Bombay there are rich people who rarely pass through these Govt. grain shops and who even do not care to look at those poor starving assembly and turn a deaf ear to their agony and misery.

Thus it is certain that the system of distribution of grains by the Govt. is quite inadequate and irregular.

It is hoped that the Govt. will start issuing ration cards as early as possible, which will give relief to these poor starving people.

In conclusion, I pray that the members of the Muslim League Working Committee may show their sympathy and mercy in giving relief to these Muslim ladies and to their families very early.

Thanking you in anticipation,

I am,  
A sympathizer,  
SHAMSHUDDIN SHABUDDIN  
A. R. P. Driver

## 332

*Sudhir Ghosh to M. H. Saiyid<sup>1</sup>*

16 ELGIN ROAD,  
CALCUTTA,  
22 January 1942

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 18th.<sup>2</sup>

The Metropolitan thanks Mr. Jinnah for his reply.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar is likely to come to Calcutta about the 12th February to see the Metropolitan. We are going to ask a small number of leaders, including Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir K. Nazimuddin, to a private and informal discussion of the political situation at that time. We understand Mr. Jinnah is coming to Bengal to preside over the Provincial Conference of the League and will pass through Calcutta about that date. The Metropolitan would appreciate Mr. Jinnah's generosity if he would honour us with his presence at this meeting at Bishop's House.

We can fix the time and the date to suit Mr. Jinnah's convenience.

Yours sincerely,  
SUDHIR GHOSH

M. H. Saiyid, Esq.,  
Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, II, 26.

<sup>2</sup>No. 326.

333

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah**F. 307/138*

5 CAMAC STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
23 January 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 19th instant.<sup>1</sup> Our friends returned from tour<sup>2</sup> the day before yesterday and all are as pleased as Punch. They had a magnificent reception all the way through. Huq is finding the districts hostile. Four days ago his paper, the *Nayayuga*, published an exhaustive itinerary. He returned from Noakhali two days ago and I have received *pucca* information that he has issued orders last night cancelling the rest of his tour.

The Governor sent for me the other evening and had a heart-to-heart talk for one hour and twenty minutes. There was no one else present. I told him all that I had longed to say. More of this when I have the pleasure of meeting you in Calcutta.

I am sure the Sirajganj Conference will be a great success. Your reception will be a grand one. Bengal will welcome you today as it had never done in the past.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

PS. Your stay here cannot be short. You must spend some time this time.

HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah appreciated the support of Bengal Muslims for the Muslim League. See F. 307/137, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 318.

## 334

*Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 302/97-102*

ALIMI BUNGALOW,  
BHOPAL,  
24 January 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I do hope you are keeping perfectly fit. Jalgaon Muslim League President has informed me to attend their Conference on the 10th and 11th February, which will be presided [over] by you. I wonder if that is so? I also understand that from Jalgaon you will proceed straight to Sirajganj (Bengal).

In the first week of February we are holding Sibi and Nasirabad District League Conference. As most of the people in that District are Baluchis and Sindhis, I am extending invitation to Sir Abdoola Haroon and Sheikh Abdul Majid who would address them in Sindhi. I shall be reaching Quetta on the 1st February. I returned from Delhi yesterday where H. H. [Khan of] Kalat had sent for me. For the last two years H. H. [Khan of] Kalat has been pressing me to go to his State and I succeeded in avoiding him all the time. Now he has definitely asked, in fact requested, me that I must go to him as he has been left without any friends, well-wishers and counsellors. He feels that he has been let down by everybody and does not seem to trust anyone. An English Prime Minister has been [thrust] on him; all his sub-ordinates, he thinks, are in conspiracy with the Prime Minister; therefore, he wants someone to be near him and to represent his case correctly and safely every where. His pleadings have reached such an extent that I find myself extremely helpless and our relations are such that I find myself in a great fix and I do not know what to do. In Delhi, H.H. wanted to meet you but you were not there. He now asks if you can lend me to him on condition that I shall continue to render the same services to the Muslim League that I do now, with full freedom to attend the meetings and conferences.

That being his case, now I want to put my case before you. I earnestly, solemnly and sincerely say that I want to sacrifice my life for the cause. I put myself entirely in your hands. For the third year in succession I have been elected President of the Provincial League and have worked in that capacity. And in that period never have I



worried anyone how we ran our organisation. We took up the organisation to such an extent [*sic* for a level] that even the Govt. started taking a keen notice of it. We started our newspaper which we are still running, but at what cost only I know. No one, my own even colleagues; [do not] know anything about it. I now sincerely feel that it would be a better thing if I just go, for a while, out of the scene and let someone else be the President so as to convince everyone and even the Government that anyone can become the leader of the organisation in the Province and can run it successfully. In the beginning I must have worked against great odds whom [*sic* for which] I must have brushed aside. However, now I feel that even though if they sincerely, try can come to the organisation. The organisation does not belong to a single individual but to all of them.

Our Province like the NWFP is such that a great sum of money must be sunk to win over the people. I blame the British government entirely for giving up such a bad [*word illegible*] on the Frontier but that is the real situation. All my resources I had placed at the disposal of the organisation so far. I thank God there is not a village left all over the Province where we cannot boast of having our branch and members but I do not know how long I can carry on at this speed.

There are only two presses in Quetta, both owned by Hindus now. They have come to an understanding for printing my paper *Al Islam*. They have raised their rate four times and every month I have to pay them Rs. 700 to 800. They have now virtually forced me to stop the publication but I shall not and the League never should. It must have its own organ. H.H. has a press worth Rs.25,000 which he is prepared to put at the disposal of the League for this purpose. Not only would I use it for the League paper but I want to run it so ridiculously cheap [*as*] to force these two Hindu presses to go out of the show. H.H. is prepared to bear the total running cost of the financial show if I go to him.

I will always be in direct touch with all the people. I will remain a member of the organisation and the member of the Working Committee as long as you keep me there—with full permission of H.H. The League then would be, I assure you Sir, financially very strong. Paid workers and labourers would work continuously without me bearing the entire cost of the whole show. I shall have a partner who is financially very strong. My resources and advices shall be entirely at the disposal of the organisation then. Whoever becomes the President then would always be in financial difficulties if he wants to run the organisation successfully and I shall then be in a

position to see that the organisation gets what it needs.

I want to do it with your permission and consent. I shall never do anything without your consent. Please permit me to say once and for the last time that I have given my life in your hands. I would never like you to have any doubt about me that would pain me a lot. Whatever I will do shall always be for the advancement of our cause. H. H. wants me to be in charge of his entire personal estate [and] internal developments and [his] representative with the British Government—with full freedom to remain ■ member of the League and to attend every League meeting. H.H. has asked me to join him on the 1st February .

I need your guidance,<sup>1</sup> Sir. Please help me.

With best regards from me and my wife to Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,  
ISA

PS. If you want me to see you, please send me a telegram. I shall start atonce.

<sup>1</sup>See No. 345 for Jinnah's reply.

## 335

*C. R. Reddy to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 187/17-20*

MAHARANIPETA,  
VIZAGAPATNAM DIST.,  
24 January 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I think the times require that there should be an immediate settlement between the Congress and the League to be followed by a joint demand for the necessary changes in the Government, which will have such power and urgency behind it that the British Cabinet will not be in a position to refuse.

I base this conclusion on the following grounds:

I consider that the time is ripe for a settlement between League and Congress because you have, in a statesmanlike manner, agreed to adjourn the consideration of fundamental questions like Pakistan and presumably all that is based on the Two-Nation Theory till after the

War. You have agreed to consider a settlement internally with the Congress and externally with the Government within the framework of the present Constitution. You have further made it clear that what you desire immediately is not declarations about the future Constitution but transfer of power to Indian hands. If I may venture to express an opinion, I entirely agree with you that the transfer of power is the crux and key to the situation. All else may follow in due course.

Nor do I think it necessary, in view of the present conditions, to insist on the League being recognised as the only Muslim organisation, since this claim has its roots in the Two-Nation Theory; and furthermore, since what is required is an empirical and immediate settlement and there is no possibility of the Congress consulting other Muslim organisations. If the Congress deals with the League and with no other Muslim organisation that ought, I think, to suffice, as being also within the framework of the present Constitution, which is not based on the Two-Nation Theory.

The Congress attitude has changed in material particulars and is today nearer your attitude than it was before. In fact it has reached a new identity in substantial objectives and if there is any difference, it is more in the language used than in the measures desired. For instance, it has left the conditions of settlement with the Government undefined, unspecified, which must be undoubtedly due to the fact that it wants to come to an agreement with the League first, so that whatever demands are made may go under the joint authority of both. Its 'independence' or 'substance of independence' is no more than your 'transfer of power', though it employs the language of theory whereas yours is the language of the practical. A full transfer of power cannot be very different from the "independence" required for the purpose of prosecuting the War unitedly and vigorously. Other questions, as you have rightly stressed all along, may wait [for] the cooler, clearer days of peace.

It seems to me, therefore, that what is now required is concrete proposals. May I request you to let me know, if you have no objection, what your proposals are for what you consider a fair and equitable settlement of the problem of sharing of power, without which transfer of power is well-nigh impossible? It seems to me, and here again I am in agreement with you, if I understand your position correctly, that the present mode of appointing individuals to an expanded Viceroy's Council or even to a completely Indianised Viceroy's Council, will not produce the result desired either by India or by England. The Indians in the Council and in the Provincial Governments should have some representative character. What sort of a representative [character] is an-



other and a different question.

For immediate solution it might take one of two forms. Either persons recommended by the Provincial Governments, which will immediately introduce the principle of Confederation without going beyond the framework of the present Constitution; or—and this I consider to be ■ better solution—the great political organisations like League and Congress, after agreeing on the principles of sharing power, might nominate persons in whom they have confidence. What I am driving at is that it need not be confidence of the Legislature, but confidence either of the Provincial Governments or of the big party organisations, my personal preference being for the latter. Because the Provincial Legislatures were elected long before the War and they were elected on issues which are of very minor interest today, whereas political organisations have been alive to the day-to-day requirements of the country.

The problem of sharing power will, I suppose, be different in different provinces. Take for instance Madras. The number of Muslim members is very small in the Legislature and their population too is very small. There are other parties with which the Muslims have been closely allied. For instance, you yourself have given your word of support to the Justice Party [non-Brahmin party of South India] and the Scheduled communities [Castes]. In addition, there are the Indian Christians and other minorities returned by their own special electorates. The Congress is in an overwhelming majority. How should power be shared equitably in a province like Madras?

Then in the Central Government, which of course is the most important part of the problem [sic]. Unless power is transferred there, we shall not have the substance of our common objective. Here the problem might be viewed as an all-India problem or one pertaining to the British provinces. From some of your speeches, I gather that you do not think the time ripe for including the Indian States in the reformed Central Government, but would be content to have a British India solution for the timebeing. How should power be shared in the Centre as between the League and the parties closely associated with them like the non-Brahmins and the Scheduled Castes and the Congress? And would you assign ■ place to the Sikhs?

I am confident that if discussions start on concrete proposals, an agreement can be reached without much difficulty.

I shall be much obliged if you can kindly let me know<sup>1</sup> how you



feel about these matters. Needless to add that no use will be made of any information you may be pleased to supply, without your prior consent.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
C. R. REDDY  
MLC

<sup>1</sup>See No. 339 for Jinnah's reply.

336

*S. A. Masood to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 769/306-7*

BANNI MOHALLA,  
FOREST OFFICE ROAD,  
RAWALPINDI,  
25 January 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Received your kind letter of the 21st instant.<sup>1</sup> We all whole-heartedly thank you for it. In my first letter, I promised to keep you informed of our activities, so I beg to say that large-scale propaganda is being carried on by the Punjab Muslim Students Federation throughout the Punjab and N.W.F.P. about its coming second annual session to be held here.

In this connection, the Urdu press both in the Punjab and N.W.F.P. has been a great help to us. Kashmiri students in particular and the Muslims in general have also been informed. We expect a large number of delegates from the State, N.W.F.P, and from different parts of the Punjab.

I am sending you herewith our recently published hand-bills.<sup>2</sup> I think you would have received ■ few newspaper cuttings sent to you a few days back by our Chairman of the Reception Committee. This will give you some idea of our work.

Our deputation will be waiting upon you in Delhi. You will be kind enough to inform us [of] the date when you will be leaving for Delhi.

I must end my letter with a sincere prayer for the saviour of the

shattered Muslim nation.

May you live long enough to see the Muslim nation prosper!  
*Aameen!*

Your humble devotee,

S. A. MASOOD

*Secretary,*

*Reception Committee, Second Annual Session,  
Punjab Muslim Students Federation*

<sup>1</sup>F. 769/305, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah said in reply that the handbills showing that he was to preside at the session had been issued without his prior consent. See F. 769/308, QAP. Not printed.

### 337

*M. H. Gazder to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 261/36*

MAYOR'S OFFICE,  
KARACHI,  
25 January 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I tried several times this week to get into telephonic touch with you but it was impossible to establish contact with Bombay for one reason or the other. The immediate reason that prompted me to worry you over the telephone was the publication in the columns of the *Daily Gazette* of an Allahabad report in the *Bombay Chronicle* to the effect that Mr. Rajagopalachariar was shortly to confer with you with the definite object of coming to some kind of understanding with you and the Muslim League before facing His Majesty's Government with a united demand. I need hardly say how very proud I was that at long last the Congress camp found it necessary to deal with my leader before giving effect to its own ideals and programmes. As one of your humble camp-followers, I felt immensely proud. May I take this opportunity of congratulating you on the dawn of wisdom in the Congress camp? I am also taking the liberty of enclosing herein a cutting<sup>1</sup> of a leading article in the *Daily Gazette* whose Editor, Mr. M. S. M. Sharma, as you know, although an orthodox Hindu, is one of your warmest and consistent admirers and has made no attempt to conceal his respect for you at a time when it was not the fashion amongst the Hindus to speak of you with respect.

I sincerely hope and pray to *Allah* that the projected conversations between you and Rajaji will usher in an era of peace between the two communities. I am speaking not only for myself but for a large body of your loyal followers in this Province when I say that it is our earnest hope that, even as in 1916,<sup>2</sup> so in 1942, you would make your historic contribution to a settlement of the communal problem which, though not of our making, yet deserves to be solved with statesmanship such as you alone could bring to bear on it. With Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the legal successor of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachariar as the spokesman of the Congress, you should not find it difficult to come to an agreement—at least for the duration of the War. After all, there is not much difference between you and the present day Congress. Both of you are out to win power from the British Government. I would not presume to advise my leader. I am only thinking aloud. Supposing the Congress and the League came to an understanding with each other, there is no power on earth which can withstand that unity. Many of our friends over here think likewise with me. Indeed, I was urged by a few to get into touch with you.

Even as I was writing this letter, the Editor of the *Daily Gazette* rang me up over the telephone to say how proud and grateful he was that his consistent forecast, namely that, if the problem of communal unity could be solved, it could only be through Mr. Jinnah's agency, had been literally fulfilled—at least within an ace of such fulfilment. He also requests me to state that he will deem it the proudest moment of his life if you will permit him to play a role, however insignificant, in the task of getting Gandhiji and you to meet together. He is prepared to take some months' leave for the purpose if you would give [*sic* for make] just a little gesture [to him] to enable him to go to Bombay and then to Wardha and Madras before returning to you.

I beg that you will be so good as to give this letter your sympathetic consideration.<sup>3</sup>

With kind regards,

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
M. H. GAZDER  
Mayor

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

<sup>2</sup>Refers to the Lucknow Pact of 1916.

<sup>3</sup>Jinnah replied to give careful consideration to the suggestion made by him and Mr. Sharma.  
See F. 609/2, QAP. Not printed.

338

*Ch. Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah**SHC, UP IV/47*LUCKNOW,  
25 January 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have returned to-day after ■ week's tour for collecting funds for the League session. Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf has very kindly promised ■ donation of Rs.5,000. The other donations promised at Allahabad so far amount to Rs.3,000. At Gorakhpur, we realized Rs.2,500 in cash. The promises amount to Rs.1,500 more. Unfortunately, at Cawnpore, owing to internecine quarrels between League members, we could not get any cash. We, however, expect to get at least 3 to 4 thousand rupees from there also. After a stay of about a week here, I shall again go out to the western districts for the purpose of raising funds. Unfortunately, Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad cannot accompany us on these tours on account of *Moharram*. ■ shall try to persuade Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf to accompany me to the western districts for funds. This is the opinion of Nawab Ismail Khan also.

I am discussing the question of site with the Government authorities here. In view of the fact that there is petrol rationing, we are anxious to secure a site at Allahabad, which may be in the closest proximity to the railway station, so that the delegates and visitors may not have to travel long distances from the station to the *pandal*. I hope the matter will be settled in a day or two.

You will kindly remember that ■ Planning Committee was appointed at Madras.<sup>1</sup> The first meeting of that Committee, of which the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad was Convener, was held on the 28th October 1941. On that date the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, in your presence, expressed his inability to do the work and asked me to become the Convener. I explained to him my difficulties, but I could not prevail on him to relieve me. So I am the Convener now of the Planning Committee. On my return from Delhi, I started collecting some materials to find out the exact amount of work which shall have to be undertaken before a report could be submitted to the All India Muslim League. I secured three volumes of the Planning Committee report of the Congress. From that report I found that for



expenditure of six months it had collected Rs.35,000. Amongst the donors were the Bhopal and Hyderabad States. The work before us is more arduous than that before the Congress, because they were planning for the Governments of the provinces as well as the Centre. We shall also apply our mind to the planning of the schemes not always for Government but generally for the Muslims who are very backward industrially. To establish a small office to collect necessary information and data and to send a few members to out-places to examine things for themselves, we shall require some donations. It will not be fair to Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad to ask him to subscribe funds for every activity of the League. I do not see any reason why the Bhopal and Hyderabad Governments should not contribute towards the expenses when they had advanced large sums of money to the Congress Planning Committee. We can give them an assurance that we shall investigate and report the economic questions relating to the Muslim States also. If you agree, kindly write to these States for contribution. If you don't feel inclined to do so, you may authorize me,<sup>2</sup> as the President of the All India Muslim League, to write to these Governments, in case you think such a course is desirable. There is one other matter in this connection, which I hope you will kindly appreciate. It will not be possible for this Committee to submit its report due to circumstances narrated above this year. The work is stupendous and will require at least 6 months more after April when the League session is over. There are only two alternatives possible in my opinion: (1) to dissolve this Committee and appoint a fresh one in the League session, (2) to give an extension to this Committee.

The war situation in the Far East is becoming alarming every day. While Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech at Benares talks of offering resistance to the aggressor, he does not say whether by violent or non-violent methods. The bulk of Hindu society is anxiously waiting to hail the new-comer as one of the constituents of the Hindudom. The Muslims are becoming restive particularly in the absence of any definite guidance from us. I don't think there is any chance of a settlement with the Congress on the basis of an interim arrangement. Time is fast approaching when we shall have to apply our minds under your wise guidance to the changing situation of this total war.

I hope you are in the best of health and happy. May God spare you for a long time to guide the destinies of the Muslims in India.

As I had promised at Nagpur, I have sent a letter of apology to

Sir Sikander. I am not, however, convinced that that incident alone is responsible for his attitude. It may be that he has come to know of the talks I had with His Excellency the Viceroy. However, I have done my duty.

The pain in my back still persists, but thank God it is not so bad as to make me unfit to run about.

Yours sincerely,  
KHALIQUZZAMAN

<sup>1</sup>AFM 239/114, Resolution No. 6. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 347 for Jinnah's reply.

## 339

*M. A. Jinnah to C. R. Reddy*

*F. 187/13*

*26 January 1942*

Dear Mr. Reddi,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th January.<sup>1</sup>

The various points in your letter are, no doubt, for discussion and consideration. But what is the use of my expressing any opinion on the various issues that you have raised. First of all, we have got to decide upon a common basis, and then alone further issues can be fruitfully discussed. For that purpose, don't you think it is necessary that Hindu India and Muslim India should authorise their respective spokesmen who could sit together and, if possible, find a solution, either interim or final, with regard to India's constitutional problem? Having due regard to other communities, who are accepted minorities? My views are well-known and I cannot add anything more.

Further, don't you think that as different interpretations are put by different Congress leaders upon the Bardoli Resolution,<sup>2</sup> which was confirmed at Wardha about the middle of this month, it is for the Congress to make some concrete proposals; although by re-reading the text of the Bardoli Resolution I find that there is no change in the stand taken up by the Congress from the very beginning.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 335.

<sup>2</sup>AICC Resolution dated 5-6 January 1942, reiterated the party's earlier Resolution dated 16 September 1940 on vindication of India's right to freedom through non-violence. See A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, eds., *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress: A Fight to the Finish*, Vol. XII, New Delhi, 1981, 379-82.

340

*Abdul Rashid Arshad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 957/63-6*

HIRABAD,  
HYDERABAD SIND,  
26 January 1942

Most respected Sir,

I dare to keep [sic] before you some of my humble ideas today. Hope you will be kind enough to hear them sympathetically. I am a college student here in Hyderabad, Sind, and am studying in B. A. class.

I am a staunch follower of the Muslim League, but I am extremely sorry to put down that I had gone today to see the procession of the Congressites due to the celebration of Independence Day. As soon as I saw it, I heaved a sigh of grief on account of the down-heartedness of the Muslims.

The procession was of course a worth-visiting scene, and a mile or two long, in which the boys, girls, old and young were all busy raising slogans such as *Inqilab Zindabad* and *Hindustan Azad*. It added to my astonishment even more when I beheld many illiterate Muslim villagers having flags in their hands, crying for the freedom of India. Of course freedom is beneficial. But the spirit and work of the Congressites is praiseworthy in comparison to our poor Muslim League.

Sir, what to talk of the down-trodden race of the Muslims, here is a crystal like [sic] clear example of it. A few days back there was a poor Muslim student who, after passing Matric, could not prosecute his studies further. He went to many Muslims who were even Muslim Leaguers, but they all refused to do anything for him. At last, Congressites came to his rescue. They helped him in many respects, even financially, and thus the student could prosecute his college studies and now, in response, he is canvassing and working laboriously for the cause of the Congress. What a heart-rending tale it is? Your honour fully knows that a hungry man will surely go to a man who will give him bread and support him. The leaders of the Congress come every now and then here in Sind and by lecturing and by many [other] activities they captivate even the hearts of the Muslim villagers, leave aside the question of Hindus.



Worthy Sir, you already know the fact that though the population of Sind Muslims is seventy-five per cent, yet the Hindu community is advancing in many respects.

So, dear Sir, it is my earnest request to [you to] awaken the poor Muslims who are sleeping in wretched slumber [*sic*]. Be kind enough to send big and respected representatives of the Muslim League to Sind to preach here in every nook and corner of the backward classes, and conferences should be held every now and then in cities, specially in this *kufristan*, the Hyderabad Sind, so that the Muslims may come to know what [the] Muslim League is!

In the end, I pray that may the Muslim community become glorious and praiseworthy among the nations of the earth. O God Almighty Protector! I ask Thee by Thy holiness and bounty to pour Thy blessings upon All India Muslim League which is the sole representative of the Musalmans of India.

In the end, I must request your respected honour to throw some light on this subject and encourage me.

With prayers and wishing you every success in [all] spheres of life and prosperity,

I am,

Your most obedient Muslim brother,

ABDUL RASHID ARSHAD

*B. A. Student*

PS. Be kind enough to reply to me as early as possible.

341

*M. H. Saiyid to Sudhir Ghosh<sup>1</sup>*

*26 January 1942*

Dear Sir,

I have placed your letter dated the 22nd of January<sup>2</sup> before Mr. Jinnah and beg to inform you that, from your first letter dated the 16th of January,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Jinnah understood that it was the personal desire of the Metropolitan to bring about a meeting between Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Jinnah. In reply, Mr. Jinnah asked me to convey to the Metropolitan that he would be glad to see Mr. Rajagopalachari at Bombay, if he so desired. He has, however, now, after having seen your letter under reply, asked me to convey



to the Metropolitan that during his visit to Bengal he will be glad to receive Mr. Rajagopalachari, if he also happens to be in Calcutta, and for that purpose there is obviously no need of any kind of conciliation. Further, Mr. Jinnah is unable to understand what this Conciliation Group is, nor is he aware of how and by whom it was formed, and what are its composition, aims and objects.

With regard to the suggestion that the Metropolitan is going to ask a small number of leaders "to a private and informal discussion of the political situation", Mr. Jinnah regrets that he cannot consider it unless he is in possession of the full details with regard to the Conciliation Group and the leaders that are going to be invited and the purpose of that meeting. As at present advised, Mr. Jinnah finds the suggestion to be vague and indefinite.

Yours faithfully,  
M. H. SAIYID

Sudhir Ghosh, Esq.,  
Clerk to the Conciliation Group,  
16 Elgin Road,  
Calcutta

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, Letters, I, 39.

<sup>2</sup>No. 332.

<sup>3</sup>No. 321.

## 342

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 307/139*

5 CAMAC STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
27 January 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Today's newspapers publish Liaquat's notice of the Working Committee and Council meetings to be held at Delhi on the 21st of February.

Our provincial conference is fixed for the 14th and 15th February. The allotment of ■ week at the most to Bengal when so many problems are awaiting solution, when so much work has to be done, when so much guidance has to be given in the matter of organisation is, in my opinion, far too short.

I request you to postpone the Delhi meeting by one week, at least, as, in my opinion, your stay here should be of at least two weeks' duration. Believe me, there is plenty to do and unless clear-cut lines are laid, selfishness and over-anxiety to return as Ministers will ruin the League further.

Oppression, repression, persecution and prosecution continue. Still we carry on with a smile and our progress continues to be phenomenal.

With *salaam*,

Yours very sincerely,  
HASSAN

### 343

*M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Zauqi*<sup>1</sup>

BOMBAY,  
27 January 1942

Dear Mr. Zauqi,

Thanks for your letter of the 19th,<sup>2</sup> and for your good wishes. Yes, I agree with you that we are badly in need of ■ sufficient number of earnest workers, a better managed propaganda and a closer all-round vigil. Let us work and make our contribution whatever we can, and I am sure that the Musalmans will not be wanting or lagging behind.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Pirzada, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, 396.

<sup>2</sup>No. 327.

## 344

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

[*Extract*]

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
29 January 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have not been able to write to you for a long time. Thank *Allah*, Bengal, after the purge of [Nawab of] Dacca and Fazlul Huq from the League, is gaining in health and strength. The tour of the League leaders was ■ tremendous success in spite of the general panic and unrest due to the war emergency. Mr. Fazlul Huq was greeted in his own home district, Barisal, with *hartal* and 6,000 black flags at the steamer *ghat*. He could neither move nor hold any meeting without special armed guards and police escort. 50 student leaders and Leaguers were arrested at Barisal on the order of Mr. Huq for organising anti-Huq demonstrations.

2. Mr. Huq has launched a campaign of repression to crush the League in Bengal and break the morale of our workers. Our best workers are being interned, arrested, prosecuted, banned to [*sic* for from] hold[ing] or address[ing] meetings, and harassed. The Muslim students, organised under the Pakistan Conference, have become the vanguard of our movement. Parliamentary government has become a farce in Bengal. Propaganda pamphlets abusing the Muslim League and supporting Mr. Huq's revolt against the League are being published by the Bengal Government Press and broadcast through the agency of the Publicity Department. District Magistrates are ordering people to receive ministers and desist from *hartal* or black-flag demonstrations.

3. This repression will not be able to break the morale of Bengal [Muslims] but will help generate new life, provided our leaders are ready to face it manly [*sic* for manfully] and decide [on] and direct a direct action programme in Bengal after the Sirajganj Conference. If Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy and Mr. Tamiz-ud-Din court arrest for the League, the face of Bengal will be changed and a new era of self-confidence, self-esteem and power will dawn on the Muslim India. We are confident to [*sic* for of] get[ing] five lakh

volunteers in Bengal for court[ing] arrest. We can create [sic] strikes in all mills and paralyse all war efforts in Bengal.

4. As regards your Bengal visit, I beg to request you to come to Calcutta on 12th February by Bombay Mail. The Muslims of Bengal are preparing [for] a grand public reception for you at Howrah. I hope you will kindly accept this suggestion. Bengal also hopes that you will kindly give at least two weeks to Bengal.

5. Please reserve some time in Calcutta for giving an interview to Sufi Nazir Ahmad Kashmiri. The Sufi is ■ devout Musalman, a profound scholar and a very ardent supporter of the Muslim League.

6. My special personal request to you is that while in Calcutta, kindly agree to have dinner with us so that ■ few selected sincere Leaguers may have a heart-to-heart talk with you. We will not be more than eight or ten and we will discuss one of the most important subjects concerning Muslim India.

7. I am enclosing my article on *Muslims' Stake in World War II*.<sup>2</sup> Please go through it, particularly the Conclusions which deal with Pakistan exposition in [the] context of world Muslim struggle for self-determination.

8. If you like, you can forward it to the *Dawn* for publication in instalments.

Praying for your health,

I remain,

Yours most obediently,

RAGHIB AHSAN

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, II, 29-31.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 32-58, showing the writer (pseudonym) ■ R. A. Imrany. Not printed.

### *Enclosure*

### *Muslims' Stake in World War II*

### [Extract]

### CONCLUSIONS

The Muslim communities of the Mongol-Malay world, the Arabic-speaking world, the Turko-Tauranian [sic] world, the Indo-Iran-Afghan world are no political orphans or mercenaries. They are well organized, self-conscious communities determined to preserve and attain their full stature by self-determination.... They cannot remain unconnected with each other in the modern age of scientific communication and publicity.... The Muslims of the East and the West are united in their conviction that the polity of Islam is the key to world's political, social and economic problems and that Islam alone can win real peace for humanity.

We may sum up this review with the following conclusions:



1. That while the fate of the Muslims will be decided by this War, the fate of this War itself will be decided by the Muslims, being the major determining factor in the world struggle.

2. That Britain and the Allies cannot expect Muslims to sacrifice their blood, life, homes and everything for earning their own subjugation.... The Muslims are fighting as equal allies for their own freedom....

3. That India is not a nation, was never a nation and shall never be a nation unless the majority of her people embrace Islam. Hinduism with its caste system and untouchability is the very antithesis of democracy and nationality. India is a sub-continent of nations e.g. the Muslims, Hindus, Harijans, Adibasis and Dravidians.

#### MEANING OF PAKISTAN

4. That Pakistan or the political division of India into two separate homelands and states of Hindus, Muslims, Dravidians and others, is the only fair and democratic, natural and practical solution of the complex problem of India. Pakistan does not mean perpetuation of India's subjugation to foreign rule but the only way to her freedom and independence....

5. That Pakistan is the creed and article of faith of Muslim India.... Any British declaration against Pakistan will mean that the Muslim fate has been doomed. It will mean that they have been condemned to an all-India Hindu *raj*....

6. That for the duration of the War the Muslim League will be ready for full co-operation provided real power is transferred to Indian hands, and Muslims get an equal share in the authority of central and provincial governments....

#### ARAB FREEDOM AND UNITY

7. That the Palestine problem should be solved according to the demands of the Arab Higher National Committee and to the satisfaction of the nationalist Arabs.

8. That Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Trans-Jordan and other Arab States must get independence and be allowed to form an Arab Federation without any hindrances.

9. That the Muslims of British/French Somaliland, Eritrea and Abyssinia [now Ethiopia] must get their national freedom and status and the rights of other Muslim communities in Africa must be guaranteed.

10. That the Arabs of Libya, Tunis[ia], Algeria, Riffs [a Berber tribe in Morocco] and Morocco must secure their national integrity and independence....

11. That the Muslims of Malaya and Dutch East Indies must be liberated from foreign domination....

12. That the Muslims of Chinese Turkestan must be free from

foreign domination and allowed to form their own national state.

#### MUSLIM FREEDOM IN RUSSIA

13. That full religious freedom must be established in Russia and the Tatar and Tauranian peoples of Central Asia must be liberated from domination and allowed to form their independent National Tauranian State. All Muslim religious properties must be restored.

14. That the Muslim Kingdom of Albania must be restored to its independence and the Muslims of Yugoslavia, Poland and other European countries must get full guarantee of their rights and liberties.

15. That the Muslims must get permanent representation and equal authority in any league of nations.... It must be based on the representation of all distinction of colour and race and the recognition of the equality of all nations.

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*M. A. Jinnah to Qazi Mohammad Isa*

*F. 302/193*

*29 January 1942*

My dear Isa,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th<sup>1</sup> and thank you very much for it. I am very glad to hear about all the activities which you are carrying on. As regards your accepting the proposal of His Highness the Khan of Kalat, I would like to have a talk with you, and after I have understood the situation fully, I may be able to express my opinion. We shall meet, at any rate, at Delhi, when the Working Committee meets. As at present advised, I shall reach Delhi on the 8th, leave for Calcutta on the 10th, and will be back at Delhi about the 20th.

Hoping you are well; with very kind regards to *Begum Sahiba* and yourself from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 334.

346

*M. A. Jinnah to Haiderbhai M. Taibally*

*F. 570/106*

*29 January 1942*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your telegram of the 28th<sup>1</sup> and beg to inform you

that I have no power to interfere with the decision of the Parliamentary Board, but an appeal lies to the Working Committee of your Provincial Muslim League.

On the face of your telegram, however, it seems that the candidate was nominated by your Anjuman, and they have no power, nor can we recognise them to be competent, to give a League ticket to anyone. In these elections, the League ticket can only be given by the League organisation and no other.

However, I regret I have no power to decide the matter and therefore I cannot meet your request.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Haiderbhai M. Taibally, Esq.,  
Anjuman-e-Dawoodi,  
182 Raviwarpet,  
Poona

<sup>1</sup>F. 780/9-11, QAP. Not printed.

## 347

*M. A. Jinnah to Ch. Khaliquzzaman*

*SHC, UP IV/48*

*30 January 1942*

My dear Khaliq,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th<sup>1</sup> and thank you very much for it. I am glad that you are now much better and doing great work. I am sure that the sessions of the All India Muslim League will be a success.

With regard to your suggestion about the Planning Committee, we will consider the matter when we meet in the Working Committee. Also we shall consider the situation in the light of more developments and the Congress Bardoli Resolution confirmed at Wardha.<sup>2</sup> Thank you very much indeed for giving me all the information.

Hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 338.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 339, note 2.

348

*Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 203/48*

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH,  
1 February 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter of the 29th January.<sup>1</sup> I am coming to Delhi on the 8th February afternoon. I will meet you at the station on the 8th.

I am issuing the notice of the meeting.

At the time of my election as Vice-Chancellor, I gave [an] undertaking that I would withdraw from active politics during my tenure of office. It will not be possible for me to attend the meetings of the Assembly regularly as I did in the past. It is very desirable that the Secretary of the Party should be very regular and he should watch the debates very closely. I would, therefore, request you to appoint someone else as Secretary for the current year. The election of the office-bearers will take place normally in the present session. We may hold the election on the 8th February.

Yours sincerely,  
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD  
*Vice-Chancellor*

<sup>1</sup>See F. 203/46, QAP. Not printed.

349

*Sudhir Ghosh to M. H. Saiyid<sup>1</sup>*

16 ELGIN ROAD,  
CALCUTTA,  
1 February 1942

Dear Sir,

Very many thanks for your letter of the 26th January.<sup>2</sup> The Metropolitan's [Bishop Foss Westcott's] only desire is to bring about a meeting between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Rajagopalachariar. He will be very happy and grateful if this happens at his own



house. He is writing to Mr. Jinnah personally about it. He has already invited Mr. Rajagopalachariar. The only other guest likely to be present is Mr. Arthur Moore. Nobody else will be there as we have given up our idea of inviting some other leaders. There is no question of conciliation. The Metropolitan merely wishes to invite Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Rajagopalachariar to a meal at his house.

I am expecting a telegram from Mr. Rajagopalachariar anytime. He will let me know definitely if he will be able to come. On receipt of his message, I will send you a telegram and would be grateful if you would let me or the Metropolitan know the date and the time convenient for Mr. Jinnah.

As to the Conciliation Group, it is a non-political body of about a hundred Indians and Europeans who are concerned about the political situation and are working in a quiet way for a better understanding between Britain and India. This is not an organisation of any great importance. None of its members will be present when Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Rajagopalachariar visit the Metropolitan's house but they would be grateful if this meeting materialises.

Yours sincerely,  
SUDHIR GHOSH  
*Clerk to the Conciliation Group*

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, II, 59.

<sup>2</sup>No. 341.

## 350

*C. R. Reddy to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 187/14-6*

MAHARANIPETA,  
VIZAGAPATNAM DISTRICT,  
1 February 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Very many thanks for your reply of the 26th January.<sup>1</sup>

I do not know whether I have made myself perfectly clear, but I proceeded on the basis of your statement<sup>2</sup> that there can

be and there ought to be a settlement within the framework of the present constitution. As I had stated, it was to be a practical settlement without reference to the theoretical or ultimate issues that the [Muslim] League and the Congress stand for, such issues being, as you have been advising, postponed for consideration after the War. If that is the position, I do not quite understand your statement that it is necessary that the Hindu India and the Muslim India should appoint delegates to sit together and find a solution, either interim or final, with regard to India's constitutional problem. I should have thought that the premises previously laid down would have ruled out final solutions at the present stage. And, secondly, that as there is no Hindu India or Muslim India within the framework of the present constitution, it would be enough if the League and the Congress come to a practical agreement without raising prematurely, that is to say before the War is over, such questions of more fundamental import as two Indias which are not there now and which will have to be considered after peace is restored. Your present letter appears to me to go beyond the premises, which you had always laid down, namely an interim settlement within the framework of the present constitution.

We in the East coast are far more eager for the transference of power to Indian hands, without which, as both you and Congress hold, our war efforts could not reach the maximum of zeal or efficiency, than perhaps the people of the West coast because War with all its horrors is nearer to us. Our anxiety, therefore, to see the country organised for its fullest strength is greater and more insistent. Therefore, I plead that the leaders of the League and the Congress should come together without raising fundamental constitutional issues but treating the sharing of power in the present constitution as the main problem to be solved.

It seems to me that if the League and the Congress come together and agree on an empirical sharing of power at the Centre and in the provinces, it would be impossible for the Government to resist their joint demand so long as it is within the framework of the present constitution. The Congress should not negotiate with any other body except the League. And as you have yourself agreed to consider the position of the accepted minorities, both of you may together take up that minor problem.

The present impasse in the country is a terrible matter for us in the East coast, and I, therefore, request you to see whether

you could not favour the course I have suggested.

As regards the different interpretations of the Bardoli or other resolutions of the Congress, I do not think that they should stand in the way because *ex hypothesi* the settlement is to be within the framework of the present constitution and not on the basis of the theories or demands that Congress or others might advance. So those resolutions and their various interpretations would not be taken into account but would be treated as of no practical application at present.

Thanking you once again for the courtesy of your reply and requesting you to view the matter in the light I have presented,

Yours sincerely,  
C. R. REDDY  
MLC

<sup>1</sup>No. 339.

<sup>2</sup>F. 826/32-3, QAP. Not printed.

## 351

*M. A. Jinnah to H. Abdoola Haroon*<sup>1</sup>

2 February 1942

Dear Sir Abdoola,

Conflicting reports are appearing in the newspapers and I cannot understand the situation in Sind regarding the Ministry. I also had a talk with Mr. Yusuf [Haroon] and I hope that you will all stand together and abide by the understanding that was arrived at [in] Karachi. With regard to Mir Bunde Ali's resignation, I have not been able to ascertain what the agreement was. I understand from Mir Bunde Ali that he was not bound to resign on the 15th of February as he has not committed himself to do so.

If that is correct, in that case no question arises of anyone of the members of the Muslim League in the Ministry resigning and the present Ministry must continue, and if the Congress or Hindus wish to break the Ministry in order to get their man in, we must face the consequences and let them break it. It will be far more honourable to sit on the opposition benches than to be dictated to by a few individuals.

If Mir Bunde Ali is bound to resign then [Mohammad Ayub] Khuhro and Shaikh Abdul Majid should also resign and if they

cannot form the Ministry without Mir Bunde Ali, as what the Muslim League considers proper, then let others form the Ministry and we shall, as honourable men, occupy the opposition benches.

If anyone merely for the sake of keeping his ministership tries to come to some other arrangement, the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League should declare publicly that he does not represent the Muslim League and disciplinary action must be taken against him for having acted in his individual capacity over the head of the Muslim League.

Please be firm and I am confident that the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League will stand by it. Also please let me know, as soon as possible, the correct position. I had fully discussed the matter with Shaikh Abdul Majid when he was in Bombay recently and he had agreed that this is the only honourable course for us to adopt.

Hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Pirzada, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, 135-6.

## 352

*Abbas H. Nadir to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 485/1*

30 HIGHPOINT, NORTH HILL,  
LONDON,

2 February 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Numerous copies of the enclosed [note]<sup>1</sup> have been circulated amongst the Members of Parliament, including Messrs Churchill [and] Amery, and the press. But as India has not yet made this argument the corner-stone of her demand, to which there is no answer, and is claiming independence or dominion status upon its own merits, for which there is a ready answer, namely the communal disunity, the broad solid fact of a pledge given and dishonoured is obliterated in a two-sided political argument, in which the British Government find themselves in an



obviously strong position.

I would, therefore, request you and all the nationalists in India to avoid making a claim on controversial lines, but shut up both the British and Indian Governments by reminding them of the solemn pledge given by Mr. Churchill of its sanctity which he has acknowledged and for which he vouchsafed his full co-operation which is not forthcoming.

You will find this in Dr. Gour's monograph *Truth About India*—also enclosed herewith<sup>2</sup>—and Mr. Churchill's promise to him as referred to therein and printed on page 1828 of Vol. II C of the *Proceedings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, 1933*.<sup>3</sup>

The points are:

1. Both Hindus and Muslims agree that India should have freedom—call it dominion status or independence.
2. The British Government stands pledged to such freedom.
3. Why not press for that freedom?

This is the reason why I am sending you these two documents and requesting you to broadcast them in the interest of India.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
ABBAS H. NADIR

<sup>1</sup>See F. 485/2-5, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Not traced.

<sup>3</sup>Joint Select Committee of Parliament, chaired by the Marquess of Linlithgow, on the White Paper that preceded the Government of India Bill, passed by Parliament in 1935.

## 353

*Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 203/49

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH,  
2 February 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

On receiving your first letter<sup>1</sup> I issued a notice<sup>2</sup> of the meeting of the Muslim League Party for the 9th February at 3 p.m. I am sorry that on account of public duties elsewhere you will not be able to come to Delhi on the 8th February as you intended to do. We will have our Party meeting at the usual hours and

adopt the amendment to the resolution [by N. M. Joshi seeking establishment of ■ Nationalist Government at the Centre] on the line you have suggested in your letter of the 30th January.<sup>3</sup> I think it would be better if you draft the amendment yourself or suggest the lines on which it should be drafted.

Should I continue to be the Secretary till your arrival or ask somebody else to take up the work temporarily? I wish you every success in your mission to Bengal about which I am confident.

Yours sincerely,  
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD  
Vice-Chancellor

<sup>1&2</sup>See F. 203/46 and 50, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>Jinnah had sent Dr. Ziauddin a copy of the letter written to Liaquat Ali Khan. See F. 203/47, QAP & AFM 480/29-30. Not printed.

## 354

*Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 399/122*

PATIALA,  
2 February 1942

My dear Jinnah,

I have been in Lahore for four days and succeeded in getting Khizar in. He is a Muslim Leaguer—in name up to now—and will support you in future. He is my cousin and I have already spoken to him. You must help him too. His tussle was with Sikander's brother Liaquat and cousin Muzaffar. The latter will still conspire with Akalis to oust Khizar and, therefore, he needs all your support.

I met Aurangzeb at Lahore and told him to secure signatures of majority of members demanding restoration of the Constitution which, he said, he would do. Khan Bahadur Khuda Bakhsh, MLA, has been playing [sic for doing] the dirty and telling Viceroy that restoration of the Constitution will be ■ bad thing. K. B. told me this himself. We must disprove this.

Please destroy this. Happy new year to you both. I came here for a two-day friendly visit.

Yours sincerely,  
FIROZ

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*Manzurul Haq to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 769/402-3

RAJA BAZAR,  
RAWALPINDI,  
2 February 1942

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

We have received your kind letters addressed to me<sup>1</sup> and to the Secretary of the Reception Committee.<sup>2</sup> We often think that the nation always puts undue pressure upon her leader and consequently you have to attend to so many things. But where should we go, our beloved Quaid-i-Azam? On whom can we depend? You are our programme. The sole purpose of our conference is to see our leader, to greet him and to listen to him. None of us is interested in the session as such. When we say that we are making preparations for the session, we mean that we are working day and night to receive our great leader. I have no words to express the joy that the students and the public felt when it was given [out] to them that the Quaid-i-Azam had been requested to preside over the conference. In spite of your [letter] of the 28th January 1942<sup>3</sup> we have every hope that our Quaid-i-Azam, however busy he may [be], shall find time to address us.

A deputation of the students from here and from Lahore wanted to see you at Delhi on the 8th. But as you are proceeding direct to Calcutta we have to wait for a kind letter from you. We are even prepared to see you at Calcutta but we are afraid lest you should not like the idea. We can only go on with our work under the impression that you would do us the favour.

Kindly ignore our drawbacks as we are at the threshold and have yet to learn much,

Yours obediently,  
MANZURUL HAQ  
*Chairman, Reception Committee*

<sup>1</sup>See F. 957/67, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2&3</sup>See F. 769/305 & 308, QAP. Not printed.

356

*Syed Khalil-ul-Rehman to M. A. Jinnah**F. 769/404-5*

41 TEMPLE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
2 February 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The second annual session of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation is being held at Rawalpindi on the 28th of February and 1st of March 1942 and I understand they [students] have approached you to preside over it. May I on behalf of the Provincial Muslim League and the Muslim masses of the Northern Punjab humbly appeal to you to kindly accept this invitation? That you are always busy, we all know and I honestly assure you that we all pray for your good health and long life. Yet, when I request you to preside over this conference and cancel other engagements, equally important engagements, I must have good reason to support me. First of all, this band of young men and sincere workers should not be disappointed. They have done and are still doing yeoman service to the cause of Islam and Muslim League in the Punjab in spite of many handicaps. Secondly, as our unfortunate Province is not fully organised and politically awake, your name is the only guarantee of success for any conference by any organisation. Thirdly, the whole of the Punjab is longing to have you amidst them and to hear you; so why not start with Rawalpindi—most important city in the Northern Punjab? Fourthly, besides the Punjab, both the Frontier and Kashmir State Leaguers will greatly benefit by this occasion.

In the end, I feel it my duty to inform you that my colleagues and I are doing our best to organise our Province properly and I hasten to assure you that before long we will be a fully organised unit under our parent body.

With best wishes and kindest regards,

Your most sincere follower,  
SYED KHALIL-UL-REHMAN  
General Secretary,  
Punjab Provincial Muslim League



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*Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah**F. 769/406-9*

102 MCLEOD ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
2 February 1942

Dear father and Quaid-i-Azam,

In September last, I received a letter<sup>1</sup> from you in connection with the affairs of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation. I was instructed to deliver the copies of that letter to Ch. Nasrulla, Mr. Manzurul Haq and Mr. Z. K. Malik.

It was done according to your wishes. All the affairs were settled nicely. As you know, Sir, Mr. [Abdussattar] Niazi and others have left the Federation and now they are thinking about some useless schemes.

Dear Sir, excuse me for a very late reply; the reason is that I am a permanent victim of heart trouble and I got my annual attack in September last and that is still going on. It prevented me from many activities and, for this reason, I could not come to Nagpur. I hope I will have the blessing from my beloved leader so [that] I may recover quickly and be able to serve you as soon as possible.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam, you will be glad to know that there is a little change in the Punjab Muslim League and that is the election of the Organising Secretary (Mr. Rabb Nawaz Khan, B.A. LL.B.). In spite of the Premier's opposition, he was elected; the Premier appealed to the House for his candidate but it was rejected. There is also an increase of radical persons in the Punjab Muslim League Council.

Two weeks ago, Moulana Zafar Ali Khan invited some persons to tea at his house. From the PMSF, he invited Ch. Nasrulla, Mr. Abdul Hameed Nizami (Manager of Orient Press Ltd.), Dr. Zia-ul-Islam and myself. He also invited Malik Barkat Ali, Mian Abdul Aziz, MLA, and Mian Nur Ullah, MLA, but only Mian Nur Ullah turned up and the rest of the gathering was the staff of the daily *Zamindar*. After tea, the Moulana made a speech and disclosed that as the Punjab Muslim League was doing nothing, therefore, he wanted to make a bloc of radical persons in the PML under the

name of his old organisation that is the Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat.

He also said that as the All India Muslim League had not done anything for the religion, therefore, this forward bloc must do something for Islam while the League should do only political work. Further, he told us that this idea was an old one and related a story in this connection. He said that when he went to attend the Patna session, some 20 or 25 young men came to him and originated this idea. After full discussion, he told them not to tell anybody about this new programme, but somebody told Mr. Jinnah all.

Then, at the meeting of the Council of AIML, Mr. Jinnah hinted at me and said that there were some persons, specially Moulana Zafar Ali, who were making some different blocs in the League.

Then he asked our opinion and we frankly told him that his whole scheme was useless and [if] he wanted to work he must become an active member of the PML. Mian Nur Ullah, MLA, [also] agreed with us and at this he [the Moulana] was disappointed; then he dissolved the party. Now he is sitting at home. The cause of all this movement was to increase the sale of his newspaper because the Govt. have stopped [giving] aid to his paper. This, I have written for your information only.

Sir, you already know that the PMSF is holding its annual session in Rawalpindi. They have requested you to come and preside over the session.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam, your yearly visit to our Province is considered as a political *'Id*. All the preparations are going on wonderfully. Ch. Nasrulla and Malik Zafrulla are working for the session in the Districts of Sialkot, Sheikhupura and Gujrat. Mr. Manzurul Haq is controlling everything in Rawalpindi. Ch. Muhammad Sadiq, Mr. Muhammad Ilyas, Mr. Zia-ul-Islam, Raja Iftikhar Ullah, Mr. Gulzar Ahmad and myself are doing the same work in Lahore. Musalmans are happy that you will come to their Province again. A deputation is proceeding to the Frontier Province for propaganda.

You have invited a deputation from the Punjab and this is very kind of you. We must have your advice and instructions before we make it clear to the public that you have accepted the humble request of this disloyal Province.

My leader! It is needless to tell you the importance of this Province and I trust, when the deputation meets you, you will encourage us by your acceptance. My lord, you are our only

hope, we follow you blindly, we have confidence in you and we will, when the time comes, sacrifice everything for you. We wish that you must come to our wretched place at least once a year, so [that] we may have inspiration from you. I haven't got the power to write what people think when they hear that their great leader will come. From now, we are getting the news that persons are coming from the frontiers of India. Sir, your last two visits have brought hopeful changes among the Musalmans. I think if you come to this Province once a year then the whole of the place will [be] at your feet.

Mr. Manzurul Haq, the President of the Reception Committee, arrived in Lahore last evening, and informed us that everybody was working for you and awaiting your arrival eagerly. They are already disappointed because last year it came out in the papers that you were coming to Rawalpindi, so they made huge preparations but they received a great shock when they learnt that you were not coming to their District. But again they have begun the work so [that] they may give you a royal welcome. My sister came from Rawalpindi and told me that she was unable to express the sentiments of the Musalmans of that City when they heard that Quaid-i-Azam was coming to Rawalpindi.

My President, it would be a great tragedy for them if you fix your goodself in any other engagement. So, very respectfully and humbly, I dare to write to my dear dear leader that he [you] must come and preside over our session.

You also know the importance of Rawalpindi as it is situated at the junction of three big and military Provinces, viz. North Punjab, Frontier and Kashmir. It is also a big military District and your visit will have also ■ great effect [sic] on those persons who have served in the army or will serve one day. Only one *tahsil* of that District receives a pension of two lakh rupees. Moreover, you have visited only Lahore, and Musalmans living in other districts also want that you should visit them.

[In] what I have written, I have expressed the true feelings of my heart. I follow you and I will die for you because I am an 'Iqbalist' and one day the late great Doctor Iqbal told me that if I wanted to follow somebody, [I should] follow Mr. Jinnah as he is the only sincere gentleman among the Muslims.

I am sure you will accept the request of the young men as you always like the young men and you have got the desire to train the young blood. You have belief in the future generation,



therefore, you must accept the invitation of the young men. Please accept our humble wish and oblige us and the Musalmans of the Punjab.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
MUHAMMAD ASHRAF  
*Member, Working Committee,  
Punjab Muslim Students Federation*

<sup>1</sup>Not traced but see No. 138.

358

*Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 197/52-3*

23 LAWRENCE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
2 February 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 19th January.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the next session of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation at Rawalpindi, the students hope to approach you soon and discuss the matter.

I much regret to inform you that owing to personal reasons, and particularly for reasons of health, I have been obliged to resign from the Presidentship of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation. These reasons have operated since last year when I wanted to resign but I allowed myself to be persuaded by the students not to do so on account of special circumstances.

My private circumstances have now, however, forced me to relinquish the responsibility and give myself the physical and mental rest which I urgently require. I have been suffering from increased sleeplessness. I have also to attend to my only son, who has had to leave school last week owing to indifferent health. I hope you will kindly understand. I have only informed the members of the Federation of some of these circumstances and of my decision. I have also told them that I shall continue



to support the cause of the Federation and be ready to offer them my advice if they require it.

With my kindest and most respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BASHIR AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>No. 328.

## 359

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 307/146*

5 CAMAC STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
3 February 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 30th [January],<sup>1</sup> received yesterday evening, and your telegram of the 2nd,<sup>2</sup> received this morning.

I have telegraphed<sup>3</sup> to you just now (11.30 a.m.), requesting you to reach Calcutta on the 12th morning, *via* Jubbulpore, and not earlier.

A Reception Committee has been formed and its first meeting will be held tomorrow evening. The people require sufficient time to organise things in the present difficult time due to the exodus of forty per cent of Calcutta's population. Two days mean a lot to us from the organization point of view and hence this request.

Fazlul Huq left for the Defence Council meeting at Delhi, one day later than he should have, and kept his departure a secret because he wanted to avoid hostile demonstrations all along the route and at Delhi. He is a cowardly traitor.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>See F. 307/141, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2&3</sup>See F. 307/144-5, QAP. Not printed.

360

*Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 197/56-7*

23 LAWRENCE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
4 February 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to my letter, dated 2.2.1942,<sup>1</sup> I write to say that since my writing that letter the members of the Federation have brought the greatest pressure to bear upon me to agree to their fresh proposal that I should continue as President of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation till one week after the annual session, which is to be held at Rawalpindi on 28th February and 1st March next and over which they hope to be able to persuade you to preside. They expect to see you soon at Delhi when you can give them some time.

They have impressed upon me that the interests of the Federation will suffer very much in case I resign just now. I have, therefore, agreed to their proposal provided they take over the responsibility of the session and you approve of the scheme. For reasons mentioned in my last letter to you, I have to avoid the physical and mental strain necessarily involved. Mr. Hameed Nizami, Manager of the Orient Press here, a very painstaking and intelligent gentleman, has, among others, agreed to shoulder the responsibility. The Rawalpindi people seem to be very enthusiastic. Funds are being collected both at Rawalpindi and Lahore by committees formed at both the places. I offer my advice occasionally.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BASHIR AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>No. 358.

## 361

*M. A. Jinnah to Mian Bashir Ahmad*

*F. 197/55*

*4 February 1942*

Dear Mr. Bashir Ahmad,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 2nd<sup>1</sup> and I am really very sorry to hear that you are not keeping well and that you have to resign from the Punjab Muslim Students Federation. I am glad that you would always be ready to advise the Federation and guide them. I sincerely hope that you will soon recover and once more play an important part in the developments that are taking place, affecting Muslim India.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Mian Bashir Ahmad,  
23 Lawrence Road,  
Lahore

<sup>1</sup>No. 358.

## 362

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdur Rasheed Khan*

*F. 568/157*

*5 February 1942*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter without date<sup>1</sup> and beg to inform you that a clear-cut programme has been laid down by the Bombay Provincial Muslim League; and if you will be good enough to get a copy from the office of the Muslim League, you will know that your criticisms are hardly justified. Besides, if you will study the resolutions of the All India Muslim League, passed at its plenary session,<sup>2</sup> you will find that a constructive programme has been outlined more than once and it is for the people and the district and provincial organisations to act up

to it and include such items as are feasible and practicable and as they think proper.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

<sup>2</sup>See Resolution No. 5, AFM 263/73-4. Not printed.

## 363

*M. A. Jinnah to Pirzada Abdul Hamid*

*F. 273/2*

*5 February 1942*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th January<sup>1</sup> and thank you very much for it. I fully appreciate your point of view and I would be glad to come to Jullundur if it is possible for me to do so. I have not decided yet to undertake any public engagement in the Punjab as I do not know what developments may take place between now and the 28th of February. I am leaving for Calcutta to attend the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference at Sirajganj. I must get to Delhi on the 20th, where I have to attend to so many things of importance, and, therefore, I cannot undertake any engagement which I shall not be able to fulfil.

I thank the Musalmans of Jullundur for their kind regards for me. You will appreciate that I have to do so many things single-handed and I can, therefore, attend only to that work which requires my immediate attention and where I can serve the cause best, which we all have at heart. It is, therefore, not possible for me to attend the conferences in different parts of India. But I wish you all success.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Pirzada Abdul Hamid,  
Hon. Secretary,  
Muslim League, Jullundur City

<sup>1</sup>See F. 273/1, QAP. Not printed.



## 364

*M. A. Jinnah to Yusuf A. Haroon**F. 612/5**5 February 1942*

My dear Yusuf,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th,<sup>1</sup> but I am sorry to say that it is contrary to my practice and principle to recommend candidates for Government appointment[s]. If I once depart from this practice, I shall be flooded with applications from all parts of India and I shall have to open a department to examine the merits and demerits of the candidates before I recommend them. I have always refused to undertake the responsibility and, therefore, cannot agree to my name being mentioned as a reference. It is not a question whether your friend is suited for the post to which he is applying or not, but I cannot depart from the practice which I have followed hitherto.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Yusuf Haroon, Esq.,  
Seafield, Karachi

<sup>1</sup>See F. 612/3-4, QAP. Not printed.

## 365

*M. A. Jinnah to Waris Ameer Ali**SHC, FC II/94**5 February 1942*

Dear Mr. [Waris] Ameer Ali,<sup>1</sup>

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th of October<sup>2</sup> and I thank you for it. But I regret that with all your sympathies for what we are doing, you have not fully appreciated the policy of the All India Muslim League, specially when you suggest that you are following the lead of Mr. Gandhi.

I would beg of you to read the resolutions of the League and I am sending to you, under a separate cover, a copy of my speech, which I delivered at Nagpur<sup>3</sup> last Christmas, and also other literature, which will give you clearer idea.

While I appreciate the sincerity of your suggestion, I am afraid you have to study the issues facing us more deeply than you have done.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Waris Ameer Ali, Esq.,  
Reform Club, Pall Mall,  
London S.W.1

<sup>1</sup>Son of Syed Ameer Ali (1849-1928) who was called to the English Bar by the Inner Temple in 1873 and was the first Indian member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (1909-28); Waris himself was an officer of the Indian Civil Service.

<sup>2</sup>No. 187.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 322, note 2.

366

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Rashid Arshad*

*F. 576/5*

*6 February 1942*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th of January,<sup>1</sup> and all I can say is that there is no need to despair. Of course, the Muslim League organisation is not yet sufficiently organised and the Musalmans, particularly in Sind, are not well-informed as to the issues that are facing us and the cause for which we are fighting. Remember that Muslim Sind was asleep for nearly two centuries, and it is only during the last two years that some awakening has come to our people in Sind.

I am sure that if every Musalman, specially the educated ones, does his best to serve the cause, you will find not only a greater change than what has already come during the last two years but [also] a remarkable progress. We must go on patiently and with determination and work selflessly. Every man can make his contribution for the building up of our nation. I hope that you with your education, understanding and youth will

make your contribution for the uplift of our people in Sind.

Yours truly,  
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Rashid Arshad, Esq.,  
Hirabad, Hyderabad, Sind

<sup>1</sup>No. 340.

367

*M. A. Jinnah to Zia Uddin Ahmad*

*F. 203/51*

*6 February 1942*

Dear Sir Zia Uddin,

I have received your two letters dated the 1st<sup>1</sup> and 2nd<sup>2</sup> of February. I have already written to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and to you<sup>3</sup> again expressing my views with regard to the resolution of Mr. Joshi and others. I have nothing more to add at present. My address in Calcutta will be 5 Camac Street, at the house of Mr. Ispahani. If the party wishes to get in touch with me you can do so either by wire or phone.

With regard to your secretaryship, we shall consider the matter on my arrival at Delhi on the 20th of February.

I have already sent you the reply<sup>4</sup> received from the Viceroy to the memorandum submitted to him on behalf of the Muslim League Party in connection with the railway employees. I also sent a copy to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. I hope that the Party will be ready to consider, when I come back, what future action we may take in this connection.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad,  
17 Windsor Place,  
New Delhi

<sup>1</sup>No. 348.

<sup>2</sup>No. 353.

<sup>3</sup>AFM 480/29-30. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>See F. 203/44, QAP. Not printed.

368

*M. A. Jinnah to A. M. K. Dehlavi**F. 256/128**6 February 1942*

My dear Dehlavi,

I have read your letter<sup>1</sup> in the *Bombay Chronicle*, presenting the Muslim League point of view, and I need hardly say that I read it with very great interest. Let me congratulate you for the very able and clear analysis and exposition of our position.

There is no doubt about the righteousness of our cause, which is honest and just, but in these days might seem to be right.

Muslim India must organise herself more and still more. Reason and fair play might dawn on our opponents.

Hoping you are well; with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

369

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Ashraf**F. 769/417**7 February 1942*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 2nd of February<sup>1</sup> and I fully appreciate your point of view. I am very thankful to you indeed for your personal references to me and I appreciate the importance of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation and its annual session, which is being held at Rawalpindi. I have asked some of the members to come and see me at Delhi, and if I can possibly go to Rawalpindi, I will try to do so.

I am very glad to note that you are taking keen interest in the various developments that are taking place and in the establishment of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and, through them, in the uplift of the Muslim Punjab.

I am sorry to hear that you have been suffering from heart



trouble. I sincerely hope that you will be alright very soon.

With kind regards,

Yours truly,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 357.

370

*M. A. Jinnah to Fazil Mooraj*

*F. 875/22*

*7 February 1942*

Dear Mr. Fazil Mooraj,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 2nd of February<sup>1</sup> along with the papers enclosed with it. I do not think you are quite right in quoting me when you say that I am not concerned with the rights of individuals of Muslim India. What I told you, once during the course of our discussion, was that it is not possible for me to attend to the individual cases as I am already overworked with the task concerning the political rights of the Musalmans and in connection with the struggle that we are carrying on.

Besides, the matter in question is one that must be attended to by the Provincial Muslim League and, therefore, it is advisable for you to approach the President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League. You might also become a member of the Muslim League and take interest in the organisation and work for the uplift of our people.

I am leaving for Calcutta on the 10th and I am forwarding your letter and papers enclosed to Mr. Chundrigar, President of the [Bombay] Provincial Muslim League.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

[Fazil Mooraj, Esq.,  
Bombay]

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

371

*N. B. Khare to M. A. Jinnah**SHC, CP & Berar II/114*NAGPUR,  
7 February 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of 21st January 1942.<sup>1</sup> I am afraid that our talk with you and our reports also have left you in doubt about the majority behind me and the authority vested in me to carry on negotiations with the Muslim League party.

My party now consists of 46 members of the following groups and each one of them has a recognized status in the Assembly:

1. G. A. Gavai's Group	6
2. D. L. Patil's Group	7
3. G. S. Page's Group	22
4. My Group	<u>11</u>
[Total]	46

There are three unattached members, viz. Mr. Bartlett, Mr. P. S. Patil and Mr. Bhatkar, who have shown their willingness to support the Ministry. This brings the total to 49. With the help of the Muslim League party, the number will be 59 in a House of 112. Out of this total of 112, the seat of Hon'ble Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao is vacant and one member of the Congress party, viz. Mr. Jakatdar, is dead. So, as the position stands, we shall be 59 in 110. This will be our minimum and unassailable strength.

Then, all these 46 have appointed me as their leader, have agreed to the programme that I have sent to you, and have authorised me fully to negotiate with the Muslim League party and finally settle the terms of coalition.

I am sure that if you permit the Muslim League Party to join us in formation of the Ministry, we shall have a stable majority.

On hearing from you, I shall intimate to the Government that we are in a position to form a Ministry with your approval and consent.

Let me assure you that I am not eager to form a Ministry unless I am on sure ground. I have been fair to the Muslims all my life and my Congress friends too have condemned me,

among others, for this failing.

I hope this will satisfy you. I had a talk with the local people and they are satisfied that my position, as regards my following and the authority to negotiate with them, is sound but they would not take any step without your guidance and instructions.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
N. B. KHARE

<sup>1</sup>No. 329.

372

*H. M. Abdullah to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 195/1*

ABDULLAHPUR,  
LYALLPUR,  
7 February 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

A deputation of the 'Ulama of the Punjab waited upon me and requested me to accept the chairmanship of the Reception Committee of the All-India Jamiat-ul-'Ulama Conference to be held in Lahore on March 19 [and] 20. Of course, I could not accept this [offer] without your consent. They have pressed me to refer the matter to you. I shall be thankful if you could kindly let me know at your very earliest whether I, being a member of the Muslim League party, can accept this offer.<sup>1</sup>

I have not been keeping well and the doctor does not allow me to leave Lyallpur for some time. I, therefore, will attend the Assembly when I recover from my illness.

With best wishes,

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
H. M. ABDULLAH  
MLA

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah advised him against accepting the request. See F. 195/2, QAP. Not printed.

373

*Siraj-ud-Din Munir Hashemi to M. A. Jinnah**F. 875/13-6*

MACHHLISHAHR,  
DISTRICT JAUNPUR,  
8 February 1942

Your honour,

My respects and obeisance to you!

The speech [3 February 1942]<sup>1</sup> of the Duke of Devonshire<sup>2</sup> in the House of Lords has come to us as a blessing in disguise. Hindu India has proved, by its action and behaviour in the last so many years, that *Swaraj* in India will be nothing else but [a] change of masters as far as Musalmans in India are concerned. The nationalist Musalmans were duped by the Congress; most of them are still duped. I find most of the Hindu nationalists as staunch Mahasabhaites, as Mr. Savarkar or Dr. Moonje. But simple-minded Congressite Musalmans still talk of a better lot for Musalmans in a free India under the Congress.

Will the Muslim League rise to the occasion and demonstrate to all that Indian Musalmans are not prepared to see the history of Spain repeated in India? Please note that propaganda, propaganda and ever-increasing propaganda alone, will rouse the Indian Musalmans and make them realise the pitiable position in which they are placed today. What a pity that the Muslim League has the poorest propaganda machinery in the country. Even the so-called Liberal organisation [Party] is doing more propaganda than the Muslim League. The power behind the Congress is diplomacy and enormous propaganda. By skilful political manoeuvring and countrywide propaganda on an unparalleled scale, the Congress has made the biggest imperialism in the world bow before it in many cases. Congress propaganda has reached even the remote villages. In contrast to this, Muslim League is sleeping.

For God's sake, form a Muslim League propaganda committee in every province, nay in every district. If you do so, you will easily succeed in making the Congress accept the Muslim League demand. Sometime back, you had threatened the Bengal Premier with drastic steps if he did not retrace his steps and



show his loyalty to Muslim India. The Bengal Premier, in spite of it, rebelled not only against the Muslim League but also against Muslim India. How did he get that courage? He knew it that Muslim League had no propaganda machinery to punish him. He took the help of the Mahasabha and the Forward Bloc of the Congress and the entire Hindu press in India stood in his support. Thus he could easily befool the simple-minded Bengali Musalmans.

I have been pained to learn that the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Liberal Party are, one and all, Hindus first and Hindus last. The *'Ulama*, un-initiated into the mysteries of politics, do not know it. But the brazen fact is there. Any proof necessary? Only in December 1941, we had the proof of it. The Hindu Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur was banned. The action of the Bihar Govt. was attacked by the entire Congress press in India, by the Liberal leaders and by the Congress leaders, including my revered Mahatmaji. Did any of them question or criticise the Govt. when the poor Khaksars were being hunted down like wild animals all over the country on the strength of a baseless charge that can never be proved. None [spoke] except Pandit Jawaharlal Nehruji. The Liberals, who claim to be well-wishers of Hindus and Muslims both, were then mum. What is the saddest [part] of it all is the country-wide rejoicing by Hindu India over the sufferings and persecution of the Khaksars. This material is more than enough for the Muslim League to approach the Muslim masses and bring home to them the plain facts.

One more eye-opener: It was only three to four months back that Mr. Satyamurti came out with a press statement. In it, he appealed to the British Govt. to accept the Congress demand and prayed that the Govt. should not listen to Muslim India because it was guilty of extra-territorial loyalty. Did any of the Jamiat-ul-'Ulama attack it as an un-nationalistic statement of a nationalist? If love of Muslim brotherhood is extra-territorial loyalty, then the Hindus are also guilty of it on account of their every-day agitation on behalf of their brethren in Malaya, Ceylon, Africa and elsewhere. This is real propaganda.

Hindi and Urdu: Congress claims to represent all India. Is it not a fact that all the Hindu leaders of the Congress talk of giving to Hindi the status of a national language, rather as the only national language of India? What do the Muslim Congressites and the Jamiat-ul-'Ulama say in this regard?

For the whole of my life, I was a nationalist but I am getting

fed up with this nationalism which means the doom of Muslim India. If any of the Muslim Leaguers is prepared to finance me, I can show what propaganda means. Today, I have been made helpless by the anti-Muslim elements in the Indian Govt.

Yours truly,  
S. MUNIR HASHEMI

<sup>1</sup>See the *Civil & Military Gazette*, 5 February 1942. Also see F. 809/205, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Parliamentary Secretary of State for India and Burma.

374

*Mohammad Sharif to M. A. Hassan Ispahani*

*F. 399/28*

REGISTERED

24 FERROZ SHAH ROAD,  
NEW DELHI,  
14 February 1942

Dear Mr. Ispahani,

I enclose herewith a copy of a detailed letter which the Hon'ble Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon has written to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek<sup>1</sup> after his interview with the Generalissimo. Kindly pass it on to Mr. Jinnah immediately as he might like to see it before he meets the representative of China.

With kind regards,

Believe me,  
Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD SHARIF  
*Personal Assistant to Firoz Khan Noon*

<sup>1</sup>Chinese supreme military leader and statesman; led the Kuo-min-tang, Chinese nationalist party, after the death of its founder, Sun Yat-sen, in 1925; defeated by the Communists in the Chinese civil war and retreated to Taiwan, where he set up a Nationalist Chinese State in 1949.

*Enclosure*  
*Firoz Khan Noon to Chiang Kai-Shek*

*F. 399/21-4*

NEW DELHI,  
12 February 1942

Your Excellency,

It was ■ great pleasure and privilege to have met you this

morning. Unfortunately, the time was so short that I was not able to complete my conversation with you. In view of the fact that you have seen practically no Muslim leader and that the Hindu leaders have done their utmost to influence your mind through Jawaharlal Nehru and others, I feel it my duty as a Muslim to inform you further of the Muslim political opinion in this country. We are very apprehensive of the fact that you may be influenced by your friendship with Nehru to form an opinion which may be detrimental to the interests of minorities in this country. The Muslims (90 million) are 25 per cent of the population, the Depressed Classes are another 25 per cent, and the rest, 50 per cent, are Hindus. The Muslims and Depressed Classes have no trust in the Hindus, and they have their separate electorates so that only Muslims elect their representatives to the legislatures. The Muslims and Depressed Classes want this country to be completely self-governing as much as do the Congress. What they do not want is the replacing of the English bureaucrat by the Hindu bureaucrat. The Hindus, i.e. Gandhi and Nehru, are doing nothing to win over the confidence of the Muslims and the Depressed Classes, with the result that if the British Government in England were to hand over immediately the Government of India to Gandhi and Nehru and their Party, the Muslims in India will immediately break out into [sic for in] open rebellion, which will greatly hinder the war effort. The Muslims are concentrated mainly in north-western India, from where nearly 80 per cent of the recruits are coming into the army. In this area, the Muslims constitute about 70 per cent of the population out of a total population of 45 million. They are again found in majority in Bengal and Assam in the north-eastern India. The Muslims' demand at the moment is that they want their own dominions in these two areas and that they are willing to join in a joint government with the Hindus in the rest of India. If His Majesty's Government in England were to accept this Muslim demand, then the Hindus, who are against partition, will immediately break out in open rebellion and thus there will be disorder in this country. Consequently, the present policy in this country of His Majesty's Government, insisting that there must be previous agreement between Hindus and Muslims before there can be transfer of power from the British into Indian hands, has worked exceedingly successfully, and both the Muslims and the Hindus are co-operating in the war effort.

Gandhi's Party, i.e. Congress, is most powerful in Central



India, United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, and Central Provinces; and these are the three [sic for four] Provinces from where very few recruits are going into the army. Congress is also powerful in Madras and Bombay, but from there recruits are coming in regularly in spite of the Congress policy of not taking part in the war effort. At the moment, there are fifty thousand recruits going into the army every month, all volunteers, and 50 per cent of these come from north-western India where the Muslims are in majority. Amongst these 50 per cent are also included the Dogras, Rajputs and Jats of the Punjab. These are Hindus but they are non-Congress, and they have a separate political party in the Punjab Parliament, which is in coalition with the Muslims. The Sikhs also come from this area, and in spite of the Congress policy of no help in the war, the Sikhs are going into the army. So far as the war effort is concerned, it will thus be clear that the Muslim areas are putting in the largest amount of war effort, e.g. in the Districts of Rawalpindi and Jhelum, which are Muslim areas in the Punjab; 90 per cent of the able-bodied men have already joined the army. The fact that the Congress party is not holding office in this country makes no difference, whatsoever, to the war effort of India because the Congress influence is mainly among non-martial classes, who are not giving recruits now and who will not be able to give any recruits in the future. Consequently, the best policy for the Government of India is to keep at peace with all the communities in India and not to invite open defiance from any quarter by taking sides with the Gandhi party. If the Government were to join hands with Gandhi and his party, the martial classes of India, particularly the Muslims of north-western India, will be in open rebellion. The vast majority of recruits coming from north-western India are Muslims, and Government cannot afford at this juncture to lose the sympathy of the Muslims of India. Although Muslims are 25 per cent of the population, their share in the combatant ranks of fresh recruits is about 40 per cent of the total in India.

I was very pleased to learn from Your Excellency, at the end of my conversation, that you had come to study the situation here; and that you were not going to align yourself with any political party inside this country, for such a course would be detrimental to the interests of other parties in India, who have not had the facility to carry out sufficient propaganda for their own cause.

I understand that Your Excellency will be going to Calcutta. The leader of all Indian Muslims, Mr. Jinnah, will be in Calcutta,



and I hope that it will be possible for you to have ■ talk with him because the sympathy, friendship and support of the whole Muslim world is so essential and helpful for the allied cause in this War.

I understand from the newspapers that Jawaharlal Nehru brought with him Mr. [Abul Kalam] Azad, President of the Congress, when he saw you. I am sure he must have told you that because Mr. Azad was a Muslim, therefore, the Muslims were behind the Congress, which is the Gandhi party. It is as absurd to claim that because of Azad, being the President, the Muslims are behind the Congress as to claim that the Norwegians are with the Germans because [Vidkun] Quisling<sup>1</sup> is the Prime Minister of Norway. The Muslims of India are represented by only one body, and that is the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah is their only leader and spokesman.

There is only one man in this country who can bring about Hindu-Muslim agreement, and that is Jawaharlal Nehru because he is not bigoted. He has many Muslim friends, and he and his sister have a personal charm which appeals to all Muslims. But unfortunately Mr. Nehru was at first under his father's tutelage, and when his father died he put himself under the wings of Gandhi and has not the courage to break away from him. Consequently, I see no hope of Mr. Nehru giving the proper lead to his country without Gandhi's approval. Only if Mr. Nehru could pick up courage enough to chalk out a line of his own, an era of unity might dawn in this country; but I see very little hope of this.

May I close this letter with an expression of my great esteem for Your Excellency and Madam Chiang Kai-Shek, and I wish China complete victory over our common enemies under the wise and brave guidance of yourself and Madam Chiang Kai-Shek.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,  
FIROZ KHAN NOON

His Excellency  
Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek  
of China,  
The Viceroy's House,  
New Delhi

<sup>1</sup>Norway's puppet Prime Minister set up during the German occupation (1940-45) of that country in the Second World War; a symbol of treasonable collaboration of ■ native leader with the occupying enemy forces.

375

*Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 875/23-6*

SECRET

HYDERABAD,  
17 February 1942

My dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Just a line to say that by reading [news]papers, I know how busy you are with the important work of Muslim League. Still I cannot help informing you very confidentially in what state the affairs are regarding Hyderabad, knowing you to be my personal friend as well as a staunch well-wisher of my State.

The thing is this that I have come to know through very reliable sources that the British Government is contemplating what substantial reward Hyderabad should get in return for the war services it is rendering at this critical juncture, when the whole world is in great danger owing to Japan coming in the area [sic] of war.

I trust that, if and when you are consulted by high authorities either in Delhi or Simla, you will support the Hyderabad case as you have done, so far, which I greatly appreciate. Really, I think that Muslim League is fortunate to possess a man of character or position like you to be its distinguished President who has got the good of his community at heart, with whom his personal gain is of course null and void [sic], and such distinguished persons are not easily found nowadays.

Trust you are keeping well,

Yours sincerely,

M. O. A. K.

[MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN]

376

*A. M. Thariani to M. A. Jinnah**F. 150/22-3*

ISMAIL BUILDING,  
FLORA FOUNTAIN,  
FORT, BOMBAY,  
18 February 1942

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Sahib,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

After seeing you at your bungalow, I have been doing what I possibly can to see that the weekly [newspaper] is started early. I have been able to secure quotations from other presses also and am considering the same.

Please advise me if it is necessary to stock paper for about six months, which may require an investment of rupees three thousand.

Please also let me have your views with regard to cinema advertisements. If we do not take them then the loss would be definitely more than Rs.500 per month. Many papers do not take them as [a] matter of principle. Since, as agreed, your name will be associated with the weekly, your instructions are necessary in this respect.

As regards the name of the paper, please select either *Vatan* or *Zindgi* or make your own suggestion, if you have any.

With regard to the editor, I think it advisable to appoint a Bombay man attached to the League, and I believe that Mr. Kokil, who is the Assistant Secretary of Bombay Provincial Muslim League, will be suited for the work. I have spoken to him and he is also ready. I have written to Messrs Munadi and Qureishi to inform me whether they are expected to be in Bombay soon so that I may get an opportunity to consult them, but that depends on their circumstances. Please instruct me if you want me to do anything further.

I will be obliged to keep Mr. Sadique on the staff, although I know that he is not League-minded; Mr. Kokil also thinks that his experience will be useful to us.

Your assistance will be highly necessary since you can speak to Nawabzada [Liaquat Ali Khan] so as to establish connection

of the office of the *Dawn* with the office of our weekly. If we get the first proofs of the *Dawn* posted to us, it will help us a lot; moreover, if instructions are issued to reporters as also to all the League branches to send us reports in time, we will receive first-hand information for publication. Co-operation of the *Dawn* office is essential for our success.

As soon as I fix up definitely with a press, I will let you have the final figures of expected income and expenditure.

There will be twelve pages of the weekly with about four pages of advertisement, if possible.

Wishing you [a] long and more useful life,

Sincerely yours,  
THARIANI

377

*A. M. Thariani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 150/25*

ISMAIL BUILDING,  
FLORA FOUNTAIN,  
FORT, BOMBAY,  
19 February 1942

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Sahib,

I had written to you yesterday.<sup>1</sup> We have taken the declaration in the name of *Vatan*. It is my intention to bring out the first issue, if possible, on the 1st of March 1942. Your message together with a statement is absolutely necessary.

I am sending herewith a draft in Gujarati<sup>2</sup> which, if you find O.K., may be returned to me duly signed by you. I shall [be] thank[ful if] you return the same early.

Agreement with the press as also with the advertising agents will be completed in a couple of days.

A statement, showing the income and expenditure, is sent herewith.<sup>3</sup> I shall be thankful to you for your definite instructions in



the matter of the loss of Rs. 500 per month, as shown [therein].

Yours sincerely,  
A. M. THARIANI

<sup>1</sup>No. 376.

<sup>2</sup>Not traced.

<sup>3</sup>See F. 150/24, QAP. Not printed.

## 378

*Nazir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 201/3-4*

4 SUHRAWARDY AVENUE,  
CALCUTTA,  
19 February 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

I wish to recapitulate briefly what I have been submitting in my conversations with you from time to time in the recent past.

Certain things seem essential in order to take full advantage of the distinct progressive movement that has begun in our community for the past few years and to make them consolidate [sic] on firm foundations. I have, therefore, decided to dedicate my humble life for this purpose.

The 'Ulama section should disassociate itself completely from active politics and dedicate their lives to the broad religious training of the community; and thus save Muslim India from all the anti-Muslim ideals [sic for ideas] and habits, which have crept in, and build up the community on true Islamic lines.

The prevalent system of education should be entirely changed and harmonized with Islamic traditions and affiliated to the universal ideal and genius of Islam, which aims at making Muslims the *Khalifas* [Viceregents] of the world.

Another important section, the first-class nationalist-minded Muslims, (who are holding aloof from all public life just now), should be helped in their work of purely Islamic missionaries [to] dedicate themselves to presenting true Islam as the solution of all the nation's political and social complexities, in which they will have unique facilities, such as enjoying great confidence of

the non-Muslim Indian population.

Two other facts I consider very necessary:

- i. I do not dream of developing any further political disharmony inside the community itself, thereby opening a way to hell for myself. It is necessary to make this clear as your letter of the 3rd January<sup>1</sup> from Bombay hints at some such suspicion on your part. Instead, the whole of this plan of action is purely constructive and prepares the Muslim nation for some great socio-political revolution in the near future on solid grounds.
- ii. My position, so far, has been purely that of a religious or an educational person. In the highest serious-minded educational circles, I have friends who can begin this part of the above programme now. But I have no friends in the circle of public fame who can provide the wherewithal for this grand project.

I have, therefore, to request you, if you feel urged to [undertake] the above work, that you may put in a word with persons like Sir Abdoola [Haroon], Sir Adamjee, Ispahani, etc. (one or two will suffice) that the undersigned is a far-seeing poor savant and *fakir*, who should be helped in this work. I am hoping that if, through some servant of God like yourself, I come into contact with a few of such persons, then, in the future, I can help your own work of political rebuilding in this direction; because I can take fullest advantage of an opening for making collections for Islam's works, which you cannot [do] with the reserve and dignity inseparable from your position. May God keep both you and my humble self within the protection of His approval, and may that be the sole ambition of our lives.

I have no objection, whatever, if you desire to take up the above plan of constructive rebuilding of the community directly through your own instrumentality; but I will continue to give my utmost possible help silently and quietly only on one single proviso: that active work be put into operation.

Yours in the service of *Allah*,

NAZIR AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

379

*M. A. Jinnah to Bahadur Yar Jung**SHC, Hyderabad II/34*NEW DELHI,  
23 February 1942

Dear Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung,

Some students from the Punjab came to see me today and invited me to attend the annual sessions of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation to be held at Rawalpindi on the 7th and 8th of March 1942. I regret very much that I had to say no to them as my presence in Delhi is absolutely necessary at the moment. They are, however, very keen to hear you and have requested me to write to you in this connection.

I know that you are always welcome by the public and specially the students, and hope that you will make it convenient to go to Rawalpindi and address the sessions of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation on the 7th or 8th of March.

I am sending this letter through Mr. Isa as I believe he will meet you at Jalgaon. I am also posting ■ copy of this letter to your address at Hyderabad.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

PS. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman has agreed to preside.

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*Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 621/1-4*MOUNT ROAD,  
MADRAS,  
23 February 1942

My dear leader,

I am very sorry for not attending the meeting of the [All India Muslim League] Council. After the fall of Singapore,<sup>1</sup> people in

Madras are very panicky and fear an air-raid soon, with the result [that] evacuation is taking place on a large scale. Under the circumstances, I could not leave Madras at present. The report of the Council proceedings<sup>2</sup> does not give a full account, particularly regarding the organisation of civil defence in case of foreign aggression and internal disturbance, as also what should be the attitude of Muslim League towards government organisations such as War Committees and A.R.P. [Air Raid Precautions] Committees. Whether Muslim Leaguers should join these organisations or only organise their own defence organisation which could only co-operate with government organisations, set up for this purpose? I am afraid, in actual working, they might not function together smoothly. Of course, when there are raids and even an invasion, we may not be allowed to function for the military and their subsidiary organisations will be in entire charge of the city. I wish Nawabzada [Liaquat Ali Khan] Sahib and some other members of the Working Committee visit places which are the immediate targets of enemy attacks. That will help Provincial Leagues and inspire confidence in the people. The Hindus in their multi [*word illegible*] are moving heaven and earth to exploit the international situation and British difficulties to achieve utmost advantages for themselves. I am afraid that signs are not wanting that their efforts are meeting with success after success. They want the heads of Mr. Amery and Lord Devonshire for calling a spade a spade. I feel confident that you have already done and are doing everything necessary to counter their nefarious activities. Your recent exposure<sup>3</sup> of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and repetition of your willingness to settle things have once again put the Congress in the wrong. The 'great international statesman', in his desire to exploit the visit of Marshal [*sic* for Generalissimo] Chiang Kai-Shek and his talented wife for Congress aggrandisement, became such an abject camp-follower of theirs that instead of preserving the prestige of his country, [he] threw it into dust. Hindu philosophy and sense of 'self-respect' and 'national prestige' were demonstrated for the information of the world outside when I read the news that these two visitors went to Birla House to meet the 'sage politician' of Sevagram [M. K. Gandhi] whereas you were invited to Government House to meet them; my blood boiled. This is how the Britishers also are made party to their sedulous attempt to create a difference even in these small things. Besides, the Chinese lady was made to appear in a *saree* and to wear a Hindu caste mark. Though it may appear to be a small incident, it betrays their narrow mentality and their brand of nationalism.



Dr. G. S. Arundale<sup>4</sup> and some Congressmen along with their supporters of the Liberal Party tried to get my co-operation for arriving at a common measure of agreement. I could not be ■ party to it without your permission. Besides, I believe that no piecemeal settlement is advisable or practical. But in view of the immediate object of organising civil defence, I hope you will have no objection to co-operating even with these organisations. Kindly advise me.<sup>5</sup>

With affectionate regards and best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,  
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN  
MLA

PS. There is one other matter which I wish to bring to your kind notice. It is the activities of the Hindu Mahasabha in our Province. [An] age-long custom has been to stop music before mosques at all hours of day and night. Now, they have resuscitated the old Civil Court decrees permitting the Hindus to play music before mosques at hours other than prescribed for congregational prayers. As a result of their agitation, the Madras Government have decided to enforce these Civil Court decrees in the future in Nellore and Cuddapah. The Hindu Mahasabha are doing this to irritate Muslims, and more as ■ political move. This is the thin end of the wedge. If we give in here, they will come up with many more things. Muslims are greatly agitated. We wish to meet you, preferably in Bombay when you are there, to seek your advice. Kindly let me know when you are going to Bombay.

AHK

<sup>1</sup>The stunningly swift fall of Singapore to Japan on 15 February 1942 was described by Churchill as the greatest debacle in British military history. The island fortress had been regarded as impregnable and expected to stem the tide of Japanese aggression in the Pacific. The fall of Burma followed in March 1942, and Japan seemed poised for an invasion of Eastern India.

<sup>2</sup>See AFM 263/69-78. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>See F. 809/224, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>An educationist and former President, Theosophical Society.

<sup>5</sup>See No. 392.

381

*S. M. Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah**SHC, FCI/89*

120 BROADWAY,  
NEW YORK,  
24 February 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please forgive me [for] the delay in replying [to] your kind note of July 14<sup>1</sup> which reached me several weeks ago. I was very much delighted to have your letter and specially for the interest you expressed.

Unfortunately, due to war conditions my business last summer necessitated to [sic] reorganize my activities. For the past several months, my own affairs have occupied me too much. Accordingly, I could give little time to Muslim publicity in this country. However, I am gratified that my circumstances have taken a turn for the better and I am finding myself in a position to undertake the project which I had in mind.

I have been sending you special weekly supplement of *New York Times* which reviews the developments in this country. Also, I have sent you two recent issues of *Foreign Affairs*.

I am bringing out a monthly bulletin *Muslim India* next month in which I hope to present the cause of the League. I had intended to write you earlier at length but was unable to do so. But in the next few days, I should be able to complete my draft of the letter discussing the situation.

I sent you a cable<sup>2</sup> expressing my best wishes on your birthday in which several Muslims in New York joined me.

With renewed good wishes and *salaam*,

Very sincerely yours,  
S. M. AHMED

PS. This is just a brief note. My letter in detail will follow.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>No. 502, JP, XVI, 634-5.

<sup>2</sup>See SHC, FCI/87. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>Not traced.

## 382

*M. A. Jinnah to A. M. Thariani**F. 150/29*NEW DELHI,  
24 February 1942

Dear Mr. Thariani,

I have received your letters of the 18th,<sup>1</sup> 19th<sup>2</sup> and 20th<sup>3</sup> of February on my arrival at Delhi and I beg to inform you that I stand by what I told you in Bombay that I shall make good any loss that the paper may suffer to the extent of Rs. 6,000 for one year. As regards all other matters, it is for you and your colleagues to arrange things in the best way you can.

As regards my sending you a copy of my address to be delivered at Allahabad Conference, I beg to inform you that it is not possible for me to write down my speech, specially when such rapid developments are taking place and, therefore, I propose to speak *extempore*.

In these circumstances, it is not possible for me to send you a copy of my speech.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH<sup>1</sup>&<sup>2</sup>See Nos. 376 & 377.<sup>3</sup>See F. 150/22-6, QAP. Not printed.

## 383

*M. A. Jinnah to Tajuddin Pir**F. 642/1*NEW DELHI,  
24 February 1942

Dear Mr. Tajuddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th,<sup>1</sup> enclosing a press cutting and a letter from Sheikh Ataullah, a *rais* of Gujrat. I am very thankful to him for his kindness, but I regret to say that it was not possible for me to go to Rawalpindi because my presence at Delhi was absolutely necessary.

Malik Barkat Ali reached Delhi and attended the second meeting of the Working Committee and was present in the meeting of the Council. He will tell you as to how things stand.

Thanking you and others for good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See F. 642/2-3, QAP. Not printed.

## 384

*M. A. Jinnah to Winston S. Churchill*

*Telegram, SHC, Misc.I/45*

NEW DELHI,  
25 February 1942

Sapru Conference composed of few individuals without any following acting only as Congress patrol and reconnoitring parties. Their proposal<sup>1</sup> plausible, subtle and therefore more treacherous. If British Government stampeded and fell into trap thus laid Muslim India would be let down and sacrificed. Consequences most disastrous specially relating war efforts. Proposal would virtually transfer all power immediately constituting and setting up Hindu national government practically deciding major far-reaching issues which would be breach of faith with Muslim India and other non-Hindu elements contrary solemn pledges given by Declaration 8th August<sup>2</sup> that there would be no change present Constitution interim or final without Muslim agreement nor would they be coerced to submit system government not acceptable to them. Proposal if accepted would introduce major and far-reaching changes on basis India being single national unit thereby prejudging and torpedoing Muslim India's Pakistan demand now their article faith. Secret communications between Sapru [and] yourself through Viceroy most alarming. Muslims entertain grave apprehension situation tense. We call upon you [and] His Majesty's Government if any major move intended declare acceptance Pakistan scheme if Britain desire our free and equal partnership. That is only solution India's constitutional problem.

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See No. 20, note 1.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosure to No. 506, JP, XV, 687-9.



385

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah**F. 307/149*

51 EZRA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
25 February 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Muslim League Parliamentary Party met in the Legislative Assembly this morning and elected its other office-bearers. A spirit of goodwill prevailed throughout.

The general discussion on the budget finished yesterday. I assure you that the Muslim League Party in the Assembly did extremely well and put up a fierce fight for the rights and liberties of the Musalmans. Mr. Fazlul Huq, the coward that he is, absented himself on all the three days. He attended the Assembly during [the] question time and left it immediately [there]after. Even during [the] question time, we had several opportunities for fiercely attacking him and his Government. He was so non-plussed and so mad with rage that he actually pulled off his cap and flung it on to his seat.

The first meeting of the Fund Raising Committee, appointed in your presence, was held yesterday evening. Sir Adamjee wrote yesterday stating that he could not possibly serve on the Committee as he had not the time and as he had already made it clear to us all at the meeting at Camac Street that he declined the nomination to that Committee. However, he was present yesterday and except for talk no money came forward. Wachel Mulla<sup>1</sup> after much persuasion has paid Rs. 500. It seems that this effort to raise [funds] will not meet with success. Almost 75 per cent of the merchants, both Memons and Punjabis, are out of Calcutta. If we pull through with Rs. 10,000 we [would] have done well. I shall be calling another meeting in the course of the next [few] days and I do hope that I shall be able to report better progress to you.

Certain facts were required by Messrs Orr Dignam & Co. in connection with your case.<sup>2</sup> These are being compiled and will be sent to them tomorrow. This relates to the development, stage by stage, of the ministerial tangle in Bengal.

Chiang Kai-Shek has after all acted like a professor instead of a student of politics. I am glad you have not wasted any time in making

our position clear.<sup>3</sup> I feel that our friend Sapru is trying to beat the British Government to subjection and submission. If they betray the Musalmans, then, I am afraid, we shall have no other alternative but to stand and fight for our rights, irrespective of consequences.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,  
HASSAN

<sup>1</sup>A businessman of Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup>Fazlul Huq filed a lawsuit against Jinnah for setting aside the order of his expulsion from the Muslim League. Messrs Orr Dignam & Co. were engaged to represent Jinnah. See Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, note 1, 246.

<sup>3</sup>See F. 809/224, QAP. Not printed.

## 386

*Conchi P. Rajagopalachariar to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 673/52*

CAMP OMALUR,  
SALEM DISTRICT,  
26 February 1942

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a copy of the communication I have forwarded to H.E. the Viceroy of India for your kind perusal and information. We here on this side of India are grateful to you for all that you have done, and hope that you will not fail to exert your very best at this critical hour of the history of India to bring an equitable solution of the problems confronting us. Whatever may happen, our only request is that political power should not be handed over to any single party in this land, especially to those who have failed to realise reason and produced a most discreditable record in the two and a half years of their regime.<sup>1</sup> We realise that it is in your hand to decide the destinies of this country, and we assure, you may rely on us for our entire support of the action you may take.

With many thanks,

I remain, Sir,  
Yours sincerely,  
C. PARAVASTHU RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

<sup>1</sup>Refers to the Congress rule (1937-39) in the seven Provinces in India which had each a Hindu majority and where the minorities, especially the Muslims, were oppressed.

*Enclosure**Conchi P. Rajagopalachariar to Marquess of Linlithgow**F. 673/52-3**25 February 1942*

Sir,

As one who has worked for many years in the political field of this country, knowing the interest of the masses close at hand, it becomes my imperative duty to place before His Excellency the Viceroy my humble views for his consideration. Having suffered for the cause and having taken a very big share in the propaganda work, I consider that any transfer of power to anyone of the political parties, however vocal and representative they may be, at this critical time of the war will only lead to tremendous heart-burning, resulting in bloodshed and massacre unknown and unthought of. With all due deference, I would place before His Excellency that the silent masses are solidly co-operating in the war efforts, and that their voice should not go unheeded. With a view to placat[ing] any of the so-called leaders, if Government think of transferring their burden or the administration of this country, it would by one stroke remove the lingering hopes of the millions in the fairness of British rule, which would amount to an action of handing over this country to agents who are more sympathetic to other foreign powers than the British. I once more pray that high considerations of state should weigh with Government and if Government is compelled to take any action, I would submit that all parties in the country should have a say in the matter and not [be] treated as merely of no consequence. It may be [that] we cannot make the maximum noise, but our interests are vital and cannot be bartered. We would never wish to be placed under any rule other than what it is to-day, not even our own brothers who are openly proclaiming that there is nothing to prefer between Japanese and the British rule.

Once more, I beg to place before His Excellency the opinion of many millions of the Tamil Nadu, that we are against any transfer of power at this time and also for the duration of war.

Thanking you again,

Sir,

Yours faithfully,

C. PARAVASTHU RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

387

*J. B. Gomes to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1057/38-9*

6 PARK LANE,  
SUITE 14,  
CALCUTTA,  
27 February 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I admire your courage in stating that if the pledges of the British Government are not adhered to, there would be a revolt.

At least, you are [not] like the others, both in India and in Burma, who have proved themselves to be traitors.

With reference to Marshal [Chiang Kai-Shek's] speech<sup>1</sup> (which was well-meant) and your reply,<sup>2</sup> I would say that people out[side] India do not fully understand the question of India. I have travelled the whole of Europe very recently, and try as I could, I was not able to make them understand when they called Mr. Gandhi ■ nationalist, that it was not so, and that he was to all intents and purposes a Hindu leader. All the other communities, dozens of them, were not of the same camp. Mr. Statesman [sic] has tried to make capital [out] of the word 'revolt' and I wonder why he has done it. He is a bird of passage.

However, I give you credit for your frankness,

Yours sincerely,  
J. B. GOMES

<sup>1</sup>See No. 173, TP, 1, 231-3.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 385, note 3.

388

*A. M. Thariani to M. A. Jinnah**F. 150/28*

ISMAIL BUILDING,  
FLORA FOUNTAIN,  
FORT, BOMBAY,  
27 February 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your reply of the 24th instant.<sup>1</sup>

Please send me your message as desired in my letter of the 19th



instant.<sup>2</sup> The issue has been delayed for that reason. The loss, *Insha Allah*, will not be more than Rs. 500 (rupees five hundred only), per month. I shall now thank you for your cheque for Rs. 3000 (rupees three thousand only) as agreed at the time we met at your bungalow.

A portion of this amount will be necessary for paper as also for giving to printing press for new types under agreement.

Your name as the founder of the paper will be spelt and written in Gujarati. Please see if the same is in order.

My name as suggested by you in the capacity of Supervisor will also be spelt in Gujarati.

Please send me your message as early as possible,

Yours sincerely,  
A. M. THARIANI

<sup>1</sup>No. 382.

<sup>2</sup>No. 377.

## 389

*M. A. Jinnah to Manzurul Haq*

*F. 769/419-21*

NEW DELHI,  
27 February 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your telegram of the 26th<sup>1</sup> requesting me to send you a message for the annual sessions of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation to be held at Rawalpindi on the 7th and 8th of March 1942.

It was my desire to be once more among you and have the pleasure of meeting you all. I am sorry that owing to my presence being absolutely necessary in Delhi, I was not able to do so. I look forward, however, to some other opportunity in the near future to visit Punjab when we shall meet again. I assure you that my heart is with you and that I am doing my bit for the uplift of the Musalmans and for the cause that is dear to us all. I hope that you will also continue to do the good work that you all are doing.

I have no doubt that under the presidentship of Choudhry Khaliquzzaman and with the presence of all the other leaders that [sic for who] will no doubt assemble there, your annual session will be a great success.

We have, to a great extent, freed our people from the most undesirable reactionary elements. We have, in no small degree, removed the unwholesome influence and fear of a certain section who used to pass for *Moulanas* and *Moulvis*. We have made efforts to take our women with us in our struggle, and in many places that I visited, they took enormous interest and participated in various functions and gatherings. We have to carry on and maintain the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League on a political plane. Within five years, we have succeeded in organising Musalmans all over India as they never were at any time during the last century and a half. They have now been galvanized and awakened in a manner which has astounded and staggered our opponents. Musalmans have shaken off torpor and shed their miserable state of despair and demoralization into which they were sunk so deep. They are beginning to realize that they are a power. They possess the strength and potentialities which they have not yet realized, and if only they will take their affairs in[to] their own hands and stand together united, there is no power that can resist their will.

Apart from the political programme, the urgent and immediate need for us is to take steps and put into effect the economic, social and educational programme which was laid down by the Resolution<sup>2</sup> of the All India Muslim League at Lucknow. It is the economic and social uplift and education of the people that constitute the true foundation of a nation or a community. I would, therefore, urge most strenuously upon leaders of various provinces and the Provincial and the District Leagues that they should immediately take up various matters which will go to make a solid contribution towards the economic and social uplift of our people.

My appeal to the Musalmans once more is: Don't depend upon anybody. You must depend upon your own inherent strength. The Musalmans have not yet realized what power and strength they possess if they were properly mobilized as one solid people. We have to go through a great deal of spade work and suffering. Our opponents will use all possible means of suppression. They may practise tyranny and may persecute us; but I am confident that we shall emerge from that ordeal purer, better and stronger than we have ever been.

I will now say a word to Muslim students and Muslim youth. Remember that you have to take into your hands tomorrow the reins of what is being done today. Have you, therefore, trained

yourself, disciplined yourself and equipped yourself enough to shoulder the responsibilities that will fall on you? If not, go ahead and do it today. This is the proper time and I wish you every success.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Manzurul Haq, Esq.,  
President, Reception Committee,  
2nd Annual Session, Punjab Muslim Students Federation,  
Islamia School, Rawalpindi

<sup>1</sup>See F. 769/418, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>AFM 187/85-6. Not printed.

## 390

*Mohammad Ilyas Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1356/70-1*

LAHORE,  
28 February 1942

My beloved and respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been very closely watching the political situation in India and am fully conscious of its gravity. Moreover, the deputationists of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation have explained to me the seriousness of the view you have taken.

We, the youth of the Punjab, realize your difficulties in not coming over to Rawalpindi. We thank you for the sympathies that you have shown. It would be ungrateful on our part if we do not carry out the commandments of our Quaid at this critical juncture.

I may assure you that the intelligentsia have complete faith in you and are awaiting the decision you arrive at in these troublous and hard times. You will not find the Punjabi Musalmans, particularly the youth, lagging behind in any respect. I am confident that we shall come up to your expectations as we are prepared for all eventualities and to make every sacrifice. I may again assure you that we shall walk shoulder to shoulder with the rest of Muslim India in the hour of crisis and do our duty to the best of our ability.

In the end, I would request you to send us a goodwill message<sup>1</sup>

on the eve of our annual session. Also please explain therein your inability of presiding over our deliberations!

Thanking you,

I am,

Yours obediently,

MOHAMMAD ILYAS QURESHI

*Joint Secretary,*

*Punjab Muslim Students Federation*

<sup>1</sup>See No. 389 for Jinnah's message.

391

*M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/4*

NEW DELHI,

28 February 1942

Your Exalted Highness,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th of February<sup>1</sup> and I thank you for it.

Of course, I do not know what the exact proposal is. Unless I know the full details of what the British Government are contemplating, or what you exactly expect from them, it is difficult for me to usefully and effectively move in the matter.

I am very grateful to you for expressing your good opinion about me and for your kind personal references to me. Let me assure you that, if I am consulted or if I can do anything to help Your Exalted Highness, I shall certainly do my best.

Hoping you are well, and with best wishes and kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

His Exalted Highness the Nizam,  
Hyderabad, Deccan

<sup>1</sup>No. 375.



392

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hameed Khan**F. 875/29*NEW DELHI,  
28 February 1942

Dear Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd<sup>1</sup> and I beg to inform you that the various issues were discussed in the meeting of the Presidents and Secretaries of all the Provincial Muslim Leagues.<sup>2</sup> On behalf of Madras, your President was present. It is not possible for me to repeat all the details that were discussed. I think your Secretary and President can give you all the information on the various points that you have raised.

You were quite right in not discussing matters with some of the Congressmen with a view to [arriving at] some measure of agreement province-wise, and I agree with you that no piecemeal settlement will be either advisable or practical.

You must have observed from the newspapers that when a question was put to me in the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League for organising our people,<sup>3</sup> I stated, and I think the resolution<sup>4</sup> itself is clear, that our organisation and our National Guards or Committee will have no hesitation in offering assistance to any other body, be it the Government organisation or the Congress organisation or any other, because the work of civil defence that we can undertake is to help the suffering and helpless.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH<sup>1</sup>No. 380.<sup>2</sup>See No. 208.<sup>3</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 382.<sup>4</sup>AFM 137/3, Resolution No. 1. Not printed.

## 393

*Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/35*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
1 March 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received both [of] your letters, one at Jalgaon<sup>1</sup> through Qazi Isa Khan Sahib and the other at Hyderabad through post, ordering me to participate in the Rawalpindi session of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation. I could not have had the slightest hesitation in obeying your ever-welcome orders, had my engagements at Hyderabad not been of a more important nature. There are grave apprehensions of a communal clash here subsequent to the murder of a Hindu committed only the day before yesterday. Besides, the ominous clouds of war that have begun to hover upon [sic for over] our very heads, have made my presence at Hyderabad very essential; and a visit to Rawalpindi would take no less than a week. However, I have resolved to attend the Allahabad session of the Muslim League where my presence, I suppose, is more needed. In view of these considerations, I would request you to kindly excuse me from being present at Rawalpindi;<sup>2</sup> but in spite of this, if you desire that I should go over to Rawalpindi, there could be no excuse, whatsoever, and I am prepared to start immediately on receipt of your telegram.

I may kindly be allowed to convey through you my *salaam* to Miss Jinnah. That you may live a very long life with perfect health to lead us through these troublesome times, is my earnest prayer to God.

Yours most sincerely,  
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

<sup>1</sup>No. 379.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah did not press for Bahadur Yar Jung going over to Rawalpindi. See SHC, Hyderabad II/36. Not printed.

394

*Nazir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 875/30-1*

4 SUHRAWARDY AVENUE,  
P.O. CIRCUS, CALCUTTA,  
3 March 1942

Respected Mr. Jinnah,

Last time the Communist leader, Mr. M. N. Roy,<sup>1</sup> said about the Forward Bloc, Hindu Ministers of Bengal, that they were making arrangements for the new guest of India (Japan). This is a fact.

- a. Mr. Savarkar has openly said that Japan is our brother.
- b. That in the East there is a Hindu Kingdom (Gurkha) to defend India.
- c. When in Bhagalpur the meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha was banned and they disobeyed the ban then, among other slogans, one of their slogan was 'Japan is our brother'.
- d. A group of Hindus is smoothening [*sic* for smoothing] the Hindu way in Tokyo.

2. It is said that Gurkha leaders have secretly decided to demand from the British that some of the districts near Benares should be given over to them or else they would withdraw their army. It is not known whether it has been openly placed before the British or not. But it is quite possible.

5. On the other hand, the Hindu Mahasabha and Sikhs have secretly made all arrangements for a civil war. The Musalmans have neither prepared [themselves] for the civil war nor have they made any [such] arrangements outside India. What should they do is summed up in the following:

- a. That this mutiny on the part of the Hindus should be exposed and placed [*sic*] before the British without waiting for a call from them.
- b. At the same time, a pact should be made and about thirty lakhs of Muslim soldiers should be enlisted for the internal and external defence of India and no attention should be paid to the external propaganda but it should be made open [*sic*] that they are only for the external and internal defence of the country.
- c. If possible, Palestine, Iran and other Muslim countries should

also be included in the internal pact. It should be openly told to the British that if they wish to live in these hard times then they should take into confidence the most faithful nation of the world which is populated from Ankara to Java and Sumatra.

- d. Syria should be given back to Turks. Jews should be given some big territory in Africa and they should make friends with the Muslim world. Forty-five crores of faithful monotheists will be a great asset. It is time for the British to make amends for all the evils that they have committed against the Musalmans during the last two centuries, and thus the British can live for another fifty years or so.
- e. The British have seen today that the [Hindu] nation whom they had been pushing forward [sic] at the cost of Muslims is plotting against them in the whole of the world. But the Musalmans, who have not been double-crossing, are still one of the best and most faithful nations of the world.

Mr. Jinnah, you are in a position and the British are in trouble; therefore, these things can be easily accomplished.

SUFI NAZIR AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>Indian revolutionary; Editor of the *Radical Humanist*.

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*Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 640/3*

CIVIL LINES,  
ALIGARH,  
5 March 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had decided to come to Delhi to-day but of late I have been keeping very indifferent health and my temperature did not allow me to leave Aligarh. I hope to pay my respects soon.

Of late, I have been receiving numerous letters from the Muslim students asking me to send their opinion to the Prime Minister of England. The students all over India are very carefully watching the



situation and are prepared to do [sic] every possible sacrifice for the honour and prestige of the Muslim League. I am enclosing herewith a copy of the cable<sup>1</sup> sent to the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,  
 MOHAMMAD NOMAN  
*President,*  
*All India Muslim Students Federation*

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

## 396

*Zia Uddin Ahmad to Winston S. Churchill*

*Telegram, SHC, Misc. I/47*

17 WINDSOR PLACE,  
 NEW DELHI,  
 5 March 1942

Mr. Churchill, Prime Minister, London

Muslim League Party Central Legislature views with grave alarm and apprehension reports that His Majesty's Government and British Parliament may be stampeded into making pronouncement or adopting interim scheme within framework present or future constitution regarding constitutional changes and impresses upon His Majesty's Government through you that no declaration be made which will prejudice, prejudge or militate in any way against Muslim demand for Pakistan as only solution of India's future constitutional problem and that Sapru scheme<sup>1</sup> should not be accepted because highly detrimental to Muslim interest and no other scheme be adopted or constitutional change made without consent/approval of Muslim League.

ZIA UDDIN AHMAD  
 MLA (Central)  
 Vice-Chancellor

<sup>1</sup>See No. 384, note 1.

397

*Sikander Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 353/55-7*

98 UPPER MALL,  
LAHORE,  
6 March 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

You will remember that I have, on more than one occasion, suggested to you that I should be relieved of my duties as a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. My main reasons were twofold. In the first place, my preoccupations and responsibilities as Premier of the Punjab, particularly since the outbreak of the war, have considerably increased; and secondly, the divergence of views over the question of war effort has made it increasingly embarrassing both for the Working Committee and myself to continue to work together under the existing conditions. You will doubtless recollect that during the past two years several delicate situations arose inside the Working Committee which imposed considerable strain on all concerned. Your resourceful leadership and my anxiety to avert any avoidable rupture did not allow matters to come to a breaking point. I have, however, felt, for some time now, that having regard to the growing danger to the safety of our country, the attitude of the Working Committee has not been so realistic as the exigencies of the situation demanded. This has caused considerable embarrassment to me who, as you know, has from the very outset of the war been in favour of unconditional and whole-hearted war effort, as I felt and foresaw that in this war India will have to fight for its very existence. Moreover, this is also the mandate of my Province which as Premier it is my duty to carry out. There are hundreds of thousands of Punjabis now serving with the colours and fighting for the honour and safety of the country. You will appreciate that I owe [it] to these valiant soldiers, no less than to my country and community, that our war effort should be intensified to the fullest possible extent. Indeed, it imposes on me the duty to foster and give whole-hearted support to any move which seeks to accelerate the war effort and to preserve the internal security and peace of the country.

The war has now entered an extremely critical stage, and the threat to India is so imminent and close that any further vacillation or

complacency would lead to disaster and, *inter alia*, jeopardise the interests of the Musalmans in India and elsewhere. In view of these considerations, I made a last attempt, in all earnestness, during our recent meeting in Delhi, to persuade you to agree to an arrangement, which, if allowed to materialise, would have put you and the League in a position to render effective and constructive service to the Musalmans and for the defence of India at this critical juncture. I was glad to perceive a ray of hope as a result of our conversation; but it has been a great disappointment to me to learn today that you do not desire the matter to be pursued further.

The war has now entered a phase in which, apart from the serious external threat to the safety of our country, there may be repercussions on the internal situation. You will no doubt appreciate that in these circumstances, I must have complete freedom to deal with all possible eventualities and to take such steps as may be necessary. It would accordingly be unfair to the Muslim League to continue my association with it as a member of the Working Committee, particularly when my official position might forbid me from apprising [*sic* for to apprise] it of the facts leading up to such action. Therefore, much as I should have liked to continue, I have after anxious consideration come to the conclusion that the existing circumstances do not leave me any option but to tender my resignation from the membership of the Working Committee as also of the Council of the All India Muslim League.

You are aware that I have never hesitated to do everything in my power to establish the position of the League, and it is therefore with considerable regret that I have come to the decision mentioned above. It should not be necessary for me to reiterate that my services will always be at the disposal of my community to render whatever assistance I can in furtherance of its legitimate rights and interests and to ensure its due place in any future constitutional arrangement.

I venture to appeal once again to you and the Working Committee that at this critical juncture a radical reorientation of policy is indicated in order to enable Muslims to pull their full weight in the defence of their country and to help in maintaining internal peace and security. To this end, an earnest attempt should, in my opinion, be made forthwith to come to an agreement with other important elements in the country, founded on essential basic principles and without prejudice to the larger constitutional issues which could be taken up after the conclusion of the war.

Before I conclude, let me offer you and to other members of the

Working Committee my sincere gratitude for the kindness and consideration extended to me personally and as a member of the Working Committee.

Yours sincerely,  
S. HYAT KHAN  
[Premier of Punjab]

398

*Abdul Hamid & Others to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 875/39*

MUZAFFARNAGAR,  
7 March 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We are heading [towards] a crisis. The hour of trial of [the] Muslim nation is fast approaching. We are to embark on a life-and-death struggle under your guidance. You have blessings from *Hazrat* Moulana Syed Ashraf Ali Thanvi Sahib. He has recently donated Rs. five towards the fund for enrolling Muslim League members. This is a great event in the League history. As you know, he has a great following all over India in millions who can sacrifice all at his bidding. His donation shows he is actively supporting the cause of Muslim nation. It is the right moment that we should request you, in spite of your engagements, to visit Thana Bhawan (District Muzaffarnagar) to pay your respects to the Moulana. Your visit to Thana Bhawan will give [the] greatest impetus to your cause.

We are anxiously looking for[ward to] this meeting. Please inform<sup>1</sup> us of your arrival by wire so that arrangements be made to take you there at once.

Yours sincerely,  
ABDUL HAMID  
*ex-Naib Sadar,*  
*Muzaffarnagar District Muslim League*  
*and Five Others*

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah expressed his inability to visit Muzaffarnagar as requested. However, he appreciated the support of Moulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi and others for the Muslim cause. See F. 875/38, QAP. Not printed.



399

*M. A. Jinnah to A. M. Thariani**F. 150/40*NEW DELHI,  
7 March 1942

Dear Mr. Thariani,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th of February<sup>1</sup> and I am returning herewith the draft message<sup>2</sup> with slight correction—Bombay Muslim League Press Fund Committee.

As regards the amount of Rs. 3,000, I am writing to Mr. Chaiwala to call a meeting of the Committee and sanction the payment of the amount. I am enclosing a copy of the letter that I have written to him.

With regard to the rest of your letter, it seems to me alright. I am sorry I was not able to reply earlier as I was pressed with work.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Abdulhusein M. Thariani, Esq.,  
Ismail Building,  
Flora Fountain, Fort,  
Bombay

<sup>1</sup>No. 388.

<sup>2</sup>Not traced.

*Enclosure**M. A. Jinnah to Mahomad Ali Chaiwala**F. 150/30*NEW DELHI,  
7 March 1942

Dear Mr. Chaiwala,

I had arranged with Mr. Thariani that with the help of his friends, he would start a Gujarati weekly before I left Bombay. He has given me the estimate and I have given him the assurance that we will make good any loss not exceeding Rs. 6,000 that the paper may suffer and only for one year. Please get all the details from him and

call a meeting of the Press Committee and, if the members approve of it, which I hope they will, I sanction that Rs. 3,000 be paid to Mr. Thariani.<sup>1</sup> He will keep a proper account of the amount, and we shall not be liable for any loss beyond Rs. 6,000 and to the extent of the actual loss for one year only.

I think it is worth trying and it may later on be the foundation and the beginning of a daily. We have to make some move in spite of these difficult days and I hope that the Committee will approve of it.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Mahomed Ali Chaiwala replied that he had handed over Rs. 3,000 to A. M. Thariani as sanctioned by the Press Committee. See F. 847/17, QAP. Not printed.

400

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/234-5*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
9 March 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy [each] of the resolutions,<sup>1</sup> passed by the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League at its meeting held on the 8th instant, [e]specially inviting your attention to resolutions No. 13, 14, 15 and 21.

I also enclose herewith a copy of my cablegram<sup>2</sup> which has been sent to Mr. Churchill this day for favour of your information.

Yours sincerely,

H. A. HAROON

MLA (Central)

*President, Sind Muslim League*

<sup>1&2</sup>Enclosures 1 & 2.

*Enclosure 1**Resolutions passed by Sind Provincial Muslim League**F. 274/236-40*

KARACHI,  
8 March 1942

A meeting of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Council was held at Seafield House, Karachi. Sir Abdoola Haroon was in the chair. The following resolutions were passed:

*[Resolutions No. 1 to 4 omitted]*

5. This meeting of the Sind Provincial Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sudden and sad demise of K. S. Pir Rasool Baksh Shah, MLA, whose zealous services in the cause of the community and the country were invaluable.

*[Seven lines omitted]*

6. Resolved that the Muslim League Branches in Karachi, Sukkur, Hyderabad, Kotri and such other towns where the Government have set up or do hereafter set up centres of A. R. P. [Air Raid Precautions] work be advised to organise batches of volunteers in each of the different quarters in each town for the service of the towns-people and act upon the instructions that this Committee shall communicate to them from time to time.

Resolved that a sub-committee consisting of the following be set up to issue necessary instructions on behalf of this Committee from time to time.

*[Names omitted]*

Resolved further that it be notified for the information of all the Muslims in Sind that there is nothing to prevent the Muslims from actively participating in their individual capacity in all such activities, including A. R. P., as may be organised either by the Government or by private institutions for the defence and protection of the people in this Province.

Resolved further that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to all such Branches as may be concerned in the matter.

7. With a view to checking internal insecurity and providing for the means of protection of honour, person and property of the people, this Committee is emphatically of the view that the following steps be taken without delay:

- i. All those people who are at present living in scattered and lonely places be persuaded to move to bigger villages and towns and special staff be appointed by the Government to carry out this arrangement.
- ii. That plots for accommodating these people in big villages be given free of charge; and where Government plots are not available, agricultural land on the outskirts of the villages be purchased and out of it free plots be given to the people. All wood materials, reeds, etc., needed for the houses of these people be given from Government forests free of charge.
- iii. That every village may set up a body of its own volunteers who should arrange to keep a watch over the village and in times of emergency act as a body for its defence against the approaching danger.
- iv. Every such village body be granted a gun licence, and for every 100 of the village population, licence for at least two guns must be given and issue of cartridges with big shots be permitted.
- v. Arrangement for water supply, a school and a dispensary be made for every such village or group of villages.

8. Resolved that a deputation consisting of the following be formed and requested to wait on the Government authorities so as to impress upon them the urgent need of action on the above lines.

[Names omitted]

The deputation shall acquaint this Committee with the result of their interview with the Government authorities.

9. Resolved that besides urging action on the lines suggested in Resolution No. 7, the deputation will move the Government to take the earliest steps in the following direction for internal security and welfare of the Province:

- i. Grant a general moratorium in respect of:
  - a. Co-operative Societies' dues
  - b. *taccavi* loans
  - c. private debts
  - d. decretal dues
  - e. recoveries by auction of property of the agriculturists
- ii. Enact the following measures:
  - a. Land Alienation Bill
  - b. Rent Control Bill
  - c. Tenancy Bill
  - d. Money-lenders' Bill



- iii. Recover *Jagiri* dues from the *Khatedars* and pay the share due to the *Jagirdars* through Government agency.
- iv. Apply the *Jagirdars' Act* to all *jagirs* in the Province.
- v. Enact measures to levy Sales Tax, Property Tax, Shop-licence fees and such other taxes as can justly be levied on the city traders.

10. Resolved that the deputation should also obtain detailed information on the following from the Government:

- a. The total number of licences for guns, rifles, revolvers and pistols [issued] in each of the last 5 years to the Hindus and the Muslims separately, in various districts.
- b. The total number of such licences cancelled, both [of] Hindus and Muslims separately, during each of the last 5 years in various districts.
- c. Whether 90 gun and 12 revolver licences have been issued to the Hindus in Rustam village?
- d. Whether 150 gun licences have been issued to Hindus in Khanpur village?

11. Resolved that, as recommended in its resolution, the head-quarters of the Dadu District Muslim League be fixed at Sann.

12. Resolved that this Committee convey its considered and emphatic advice to all the Zamindars in the villages to arrange for safe maintenance of sufficient quantities of foodstuff and other articles of necessity, needed by their *haris* and artisans in their villages.

13. Resolved that a Friday be fixed on which before or after the Friday prayers, the Muslims all over Sind should pass the following resolution, and the facts connected therewith and the import thereof be explained to all those present:

This public meeting of all the Muslims in this town strongly condemn the ignoble part that K. B. Allah Bakhsh has played to please the Hindus by putting up the Azad Conference show and attempting thereby to question the representative character of the Muslim League, which is the only true representative of the Muslims in this country.

This public meeting emphatically declares that neither K. B. Allah Bakhsh represents the Muslims nor he enjoys or deserves the confidence of the Muslims of Sind—much less of those in India.

14. Resolved that in view of the fact that the Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Sabha and other organisations have decided not to set up a separate organisation of their own in connection with the A. R. P. and other defence measures and [that] they all have formed a separate committee known as Civil Defence

Committee, consisting of the representatives of all the said organisations, for the purpose of rendering all possible help that may be needed at the time of air raids in the City of Karachi, this Council is of the opinion that the Sind Provincial Muslim League should extend its support to all such activities in Karachi City or other towns in Sind. It, therefore, requests the All India Muslim League to permit the Sind Muslim League to participate in the above kind of joint activities, in view of the special conditions prevailing in Sind.

This Council requests Mr. Mahomed Hashim Gazder to communicate at an early date to the President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, the details regarding the constitution and duties of the Civil Defence Committee referred to above.

15. This meeting strongly supports the resolution, dated 23rd February last, passed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, condemning the pro-Hindu and pro-Congress proposals of the Non-Party Conference of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and emphatically declares that the Muslims of Sind shall not hesitate to offer every possible sacrifice in order to oppose any constitution that is promulgated in India without the consent of the Muslim League either for the duration of the war or subsequent time.

16. Resolved that a sub-committee comprising the following members and duly authorized [be set up] to take such action as it may deem fit for the purpose of putting up a suitable candidate for and successfully contesting the election on behalf of the Muslim League to the Sind Legislative Assembly in the constituency of late K. S. Pir Rasool Bux Shah, MLA.

*[Names omitted]*

17. Resolved that a conference of the office-bearers of the district branches of the Muslim League in Sind be convened in order to consider the instructions received from the office of All India Muslim League.

18. Resolved that the primary as well as the district branches of the Muslim League in the Province be advised to hold their elections at the appointed time in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, as in case of their failure to do so, this Council will be constrained to nominate their representatives on the Sind Provincial Muslim League Council.

*[Resolution No. 19 omitted]*

20. Resolved that the Members of the Muslim League Assembly

Party, Working Committee and the Council, who have not paid their donations as yet, be requested to send their contributions to the President at an early date in pursuance of the previous resolution.

21. As the accredited organisation of the majority community in this Province, the Sind Provincial Muslim League has given its most thoughtful consideration to the question of the maintenance of internal order and security in the light of the present state of affairs as well as the potential developments connected therewith in this Province.

22. The Council is emphatically of the opinion that the existing position in the Province is so grossly unsatisfactory that it will become almost impossible for the Muslim League to discharge its responsibilities in the event of the worsening situation.

23. The Council holds the Hindus directly responsible for the existing state of discontent and disorder in the Province; in that it is the Hindu representatives who have been running the Government of Sind in a manner calculated to frustrate all measures for welfare of the Muslim masses so as to preserve the Hindu domination in the economic and political life of the Province with the result that the condition of the Muslim masses has considerably deteriorated in addition to the administration of the Province having almost gone out of gear. This Council, therefore, declares that it will not be possible for it to enthuse the Muslim community and persuade it to act in a particular manner for the safety of the Province unless their most outstanding grievances are redressed and a helpful atmosphere is created on the following lines:

- a. the Hindus should cease to run the Government along anti-Muslim lines,
- b. a general moratorium suspending all proceedings for establishment or recovery of debts, and
- c. adequate arrangements for supplying foodstuff to the needy Muslim families in accordance with the plan to be prepared by the Muslim League.

Furthermore, in order to give a sound and judicious lead to the Muslim community in the midst of the probable crisis, the Council delegates its functions to the following sub-committee with powers to co-opt and to determine the procedure of such co-option, which shall deal with the situation as it develops from time to time.

[Names omitted]



*Enclosure 2**H. Abdoola Haroon to Winston Churchill**Telegram, F. 274/232-4*

Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, London

Khan Bahadur Allahbux Premier Sind does not represent Sind Muslims. He has been installed by Hindu members. Margin between two communities in legislature being of six votes only, Sind Muslims strongly repudiate contents his cablegram to you. Furthermore Sind Muslims strongly oppose Sapru proposals designed to enslave hundred million Muslims who will resist them vigorously and vehemently. Muslims behind Muslim League.

ABDOOLA HAROON

MLA (Central)

*President, Sind Provincial Muslim League*

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*M. A. Jinnah to Sikander Hyat Khan**F. 353/58*NEW DELHI,  
9 March 1942

Dear Sir Sikander Hyat Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th of March<sup>1</sup> and I shall place it before the next meeting of the [Muslim League] Working Committee.

I may state that you had put certain proposals before me in our recent meeting and my reply was that if those in authority are serious and in real earnest then the matter would no doubt be considered by us in the same spirit. But [the] suggestions which you made were only your own without any authority behind them. Naturally, therefore, I said that they should come from the Viceroy, and that there was nothing to prevent you from making those suggestions to the right quarters.

I do not think you are doing justice to me in suggesting that there was anything definite coming from the authoritative source and I did not desire the matter to be pursued further. You know that no arrangement can be agreed upon by me without the



sanction of the Working Committee, at least. However, that is only a side issue.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan,  
98 Upper Mall,  
Lahore

<sup>1</sup>No. 397.

402

*Chiragh Din to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 957/73-4*

GURDASPUR,  
14 March 1942

My dear Sir,

I enclose herewith a copy of my address,<sup>1</sup> delivered at the Provincial Muslim Students League Conference held at Batala, a town of about 50,000 souls in this District. Your reply<sup>2</sup> to the sporting offer of Mr. Rajagopalacharia was the inspiration for my consenting to accept the chairmanship of the Reception Committee, and that is why this episode finds ■ prominent place in this address. I shall be adequately compensated for this labour of love if you once hear it read.

All Muslims are now anxiously awaiting the arrival of Sir Stafford Cripps whose interview with you will have ■ historic importance, especially because he is reported to have pre-conceived notions against the Two-Nation Theory.

Muslim India hopes that the justness of the Muslim cause, your selfless efforts as their advocate, your mastery of the subject and your persuasive eloquence will convince the Leader of the House of Commons [Cripps] that the agitation against the Muslim League

demand is engineered with the sole object of depriving the Muslims of real freedom in India.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
CHIRAGH DIN  
President,  
*Gurdaspur District Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 809/224, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>Jinnah thanked him for his laudatory observations about him and his work. See F. 957/75, QAP. Not printed.

## 403

*Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 962/25-6*

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,  
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH,  
14 March 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Jinnah,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

With reference to my previous letters regarding Muslim education,<sup>1</sup> I have the honour to inform you that I have completed my work on the scheme of a sound Muslim education. I have prepared a programme of education for all the stages, namely primary, secondary and higher, in consonance with the true ideals of Muslim India which are also the fundamentals of the Muslim League ideology. This programme has been conceived as an educational movement designed to counteract the de-Islamizing and disintegrating forces pitted against the Musalmans of India and also to equip our people adequately for their individual and collective advancement.

The basic principles of this scheme are:

- i. Our institutions and teachers must be Islamized and the entire framing and working out of the educational programme must be placed in our own hands.
- ii. Islamic [sic] moulding of character and intellect and sound growth of body and mind must form the chief aims of our entire education.

- iii. Objectives of the teaching of various subjects and the methods of instruction must be vitally changed and reorganized in the light of our social ideals.
- iv. Introduction of craft in the higher stages of primary education and encouraging the pupils to take up applied and vocational studies in secondary classes must form an important part of our educational programme.
- v. Primary education must be free, wide[spread] and uniform for all the Muslims.
- vi. Urdu must form the medium of instruction for all stages of education of every Muslim boy and girl.
- vii. Arabic must be compulsory in upper primary and secondary classes.

I trust that you will approve of these principles. I shall be able to send you a copy of my manuscript shortly. I venture to request you to see it. I believe that, subject to your approval, we may on these bases formulate a national programme of Muslim education and launch it from the platform of the All India Muslim League analogous to the one adopted by the Congress. The Muslims are hankering for such a programme.

I may also add here that the Kamal Yar Jung Committee of the All India Muslim Educational Conference have prepared their report. I had an opportunity of examining it. They have suggested no independent educational programme for the Muslims and have only sought some adjustments in the existing or more accurately the Hindu system of education. I am afraid it will contribute little to the reconstruction of the national life of the Muslims and will not meet their whole-hearted approval.

Finally, may I request you to grant me an interview on the morning of either the eighteenth or the nineteenth of March, if convenient to you. Hope this letter will find you in excellent health.

With best wishes,

Yours devotedly,  
MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI

<sup>1</sup>See No. 237. Other letter(s) not traced.

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*Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 392/61-2

9 GARIAHAT ROAD,  
CALCUTTA,  
14 March 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a cutting from the *Statesman*, giving in brief what took place at the Government House on the 13th of March. I am also enclosing a fairly full summary<sup>1</sup> of his [Bengal Governor J. A. Herbert's] speech. He told us that he did not want us to express any opinion on it at present. He realised that some of us will have to consult the higher authorities and suggested that we should meet again on Thursday or Friday and let him know our views. I will, therefore, be obliged if you will kindly let me have your views<sup>3</sup> on the three questions put to us. To-day or tomorrow, I am writing to the Governor pointing out that after two months he had informed me that our representation about repression against the Muslim League workers has been enquired into, and he suggested that we should see the Chief Minister about it; whereas he wrote to me at least three letters in which he had promised that he, Chief Minister and I should sit and discuss this question. I am also going to state that he gave you definite assurance that abuse of the Defence of India Rules against the Muslim League workers would be immediately stopped whereas nothing has been done so far.

Under the circumstances, apart from the main question of whether we can, at present, join the War Cabinet or not, we feel that we cannot co-operate with the present Ministry in any way so long as our legitimate grievances are not redressed immediately. Personally, I am not in favour of a National Cabinet or War Cabinet because within a very short time the all-India issues will be decided, one way or the other, and it is quite possible that if it goes against us, we may have to come out and take some definite steps which may even land us in jail. It would be very difficult to resign from the Cabinet having once recognised the national emergency due to threat of enemy action. On the other hand, if a formula is evolved, which is acceptable to the Congress and the League, then we can form a government without the undesirable elements, particularly without Mr. Fazlul Huq. Of course, it cannot be



denied that Bengal, to a certain extent, is in a different position from other provinces as it is immediately threatened by the enemy, especially [the] likelihood of invasion of Eastern Bengal and Calcutta area cannot be ruled out. But at the same time, as we will have to join up with the rest of India on the all-India issue, I cannot see any advantage in forming a National Cabinet in Bengal immediately. I hope you will kindly let me have your reply before Thursday.

Yours sincerely,  
K. NAZIMUDDIN

<sup>1</sup>See F. 392/63-8, QAP. Not printed.

### *Enclosure*

F. 392/61-2

#### BENGAL AND NATIONAL WAR FRONT<sup>1</sup>

##### *Party Leaders Confer at Government House*

The Governor of Bengal presided over a meeting last evening at Government House of the following representatives in the Provincial Assembly:

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Mr. S. K. Basu, Khan Bahadur M. Abdul Karim, Mr. P. N. Banerjee, Khan Bahadur Moulvi Hashem Ali Khan, Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, Mr. Upendranath Barman, Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Mr. K. S. Roy, Dr. Nalinakshya Sanyal, Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, Mr. D. Henry, Mr. A. F. Stark and Mr. J. W. Chippendale.

After reviewing the recent course of events and emphasising [the] need for laying aside party differences in times of national danger, His Excellency [the Governor] put the following questions to which he has asked for answers at a subsequent meeting to be held next week.

1. Do you think that the danger to Bengal is so pressing that a National War Front is essential?
2. Do you think that a National War Front has any hope of success unless it is based on a National Government representative of all parties?
3. Are you prepared to collaborate in the formation of such a Government?

<sup>1</sup>The *Statesman*, 14 March 1942.

405

*S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah**F. 304/126-7*

ISMAIL MANZIL,  
PATNA CITY,  
14 March 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have sent you yesterday a reply-paid telegram. I confirm the contents hereby:

Please oblige wiring considered opinion Viceroy's Provincial Governor's appeal War National Front efforts. Can Muslim Leaguers individually attend meetings join movement?

By the time of writing this letter at 7.30 p.m. (Bihar time), Saturday 14th March, I have not been favoured with any reply. However, as several enquiries have been made from me after the Viceroy's appeal and the Bihar Governor's appeal, I thought it prudent to refer the matter to you for decision. There can be no doubt that the implication of the resolution of your Working Committee is very clear and an individual option is there, but it is capable of different interpretation. You are aware that in Bihar, owing to certain unfortunate circumstances arising after the Bihar riots, that individual option as availed of has been withdrawn by a resolution of [the] Provincial Muslim League Council.

The appeal issued by the Governor of Bihar [has been] communicated to me for the expression of my opinion. I have replied that I shall reply after consulting you. The position is that some individuals in their individual capacity are taking part in A.R.P. [Air Raid Precautions] and C.G. [Civic Guards] Movement. Our own M.N. [Muslim National] Guards Movement is progressing. If no objection, please drop a line; if you so desire, your letter shall be kept strictly confidential or as you direct.<sup>1</sup>

Successful protest has been made against Sapru's proposals; wire sent to Viceroy and All India [Muslim League] office intimated.

I am sending you herewith true copy of a letter<sup>2</sup> which I have addressed further to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the

Viceroy for your information together with a copy of the telegram<sup>3</sup> previously sent.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
ISMAIL

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied that the matter had already been discussed at the meeting of Presidents and Secretaries of various ML Branches and that he had no comment following the policy decided upon at the meeting. See F. 304/129, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 304/123-4, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>See F. 304/128, QAP. Not printed.

## 406

*S. M. Tajuddin to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 875/45-6*

ST. THOMAS MOUNT,  
NEAR MADRAS,  
14 March 1942

Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

As you may not have [the] time to read long letters, I am just giving a few points for your kind consideration:

### REGARDING CRIPPS' VISIT

Mr. Cripps is an intimate friend of Pandit Nehru. He will be influenced by him. This will spoil our case. Better we cable to the [British] Premier to send one League-minded M. P. also so that true facts may be represented to pass fair judgement. Otherwise Cripps' prejudicial version will be taken as true and authentic; or at least register ■ protest by cable.

### MOMINS

They repudiate [the] League's claim as the sole representative. The Hindu (Congress) and Congress-minded Muslims set up rival organisations; why not a bloc be created of those Momins who are pro-Leaguer and allow them to expose the ins and outs of Momins and make a counter-move?

### MUSLIM SOLIDARITY

The Hindus are in a majority and Muslims in a minority of two-thirds and one-third, [respectively]. If out of this hardly one-third, there should be so many splits [sic] and that too in [an] organized

manner under heads—Ahrars, Khudai Khidmatgars, Jamiat, Momins, Shias and (Congress-minded) [or nationalist Muslims] and if they grow in strength from day to day and come under one bloc and one platform with the objective to belittle [*words missing*], will not these and others form one-sixth and [the] Leaguers [the other] one-sixth, and if these join hands with the Congress (Hindus) in Muslim majority provinces, will it not seriously jeopardize the Pakistan scheme and goal?

Already, Muslim majority provinces are under the direct influence of Congress-minded Muslim leaders. The places where League should be in power [but] is not. It is a disgrace to us.

We must take a lesson from the failure of Congress today to represent all communities. The Congress when given power set at naught the minorities. The Congress neglected and did not reckon the importance of these people though in minority. Today it feels [*sic*] the consequences. Same will be the fate of the League, unless we take heed at least now onwards to rally around us all Muslims who do not see us eye to eye with Muslim League.

We must shed the prestige, power and status the League has acquired. Our prestige will be enhanced not by discarding others but by using them and bringing them to our fold. For this, please set up propaganda committees and let deputation after deputation visit Sind, Punjab and NWF Provinces. We must make immediate and sincere efforts to come to an understanding with Muslim organisations which are against the League. We can either write to them or go to them for free and frank discussions. Even if we don't succeed in bring[ing] them round, we can weaken their strength, as after this move from the League a good many persons will desert their organisations and come under [the] League flag. This is the most important work which the League should do otherwise the League's position will be affected just as that of the Congress today.

Yours truly,  
S. M. TAJUDDIN



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*Formuzul Huq to M. A. Jinnah**F. 109/133*

WACHEL MOLLA MANSIONS,  
8 DHARAMTOLLA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
16 March 1942

Sir,

I have the honour to send you the following resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League on different dates:

#### PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

Resolution No.11 passed at the meeting held on the 9th August 1939.

In view of the resolution passed at the 26th annual session of the All India Muslim League held at Patna regarding Muslim League Parliamentary Board, the Working Committee resolves that the functions of the All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board of Bengal be performed by the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League.

#### NO CONFIDENCE IN A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

Resolution No. 1 passed at the meeting held on the 6th December 1941.

This meeting records its loss of confidence in A. K. Fazlul Huq, the President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, for having accepted the leadership of the Progressive Coalition Party consisting of groups whose sole aim and object is to break the Muslim League and Muslim solidarity in the province.

#### REMOVAL OF FAZLUL HUQ FROM THE PRESIDENCY AND ELECTION OF MOULANA MOHAMMAD AKRUM KHAN IN HIS PLACE

Resolution No. 1 passed at the meeting held on the 17th December 1941.

Letter of the Secretary of the All India Muslim League forwarding decisions of the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali [Jinnah] expelling A. K. Fazlul Huq was read and the Committee resolved as follows:  
Inasmuch as a meeting of the Council of the Bengal Provincial Muslim

League has been called for the 25th December, Moulana Mohammad Akrum Khan Sahib, Vice-President, is authorized to carry on the duties of the President in the vacancy caused by the expulsion of A. K. Fazlul Huq from the League by the President of the All India Muslim League.

#### REMOVAL OF FAZLUL HUQ FROM THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE PROVINCIAL LEAGUE

In view of the fact that Fazlul Huq has already been expelled even from the primary membership of the League no such step was thought necessary.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

FORMUZUL HUQ

*Assistant Secretary,*

*Bengal Provincial Muslim League*

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*M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin*

*F. 392/69-70*

NEW DELHI,  
17 March 1942

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

I have already wired to you as follows:

Your letter 14th March,<sup>1</sup> agree with you proposals cannot be accepted, highly detrimental.

Without going into the details and pros and cons, I entirely agree with you that it is not possible for us to accept the suggestions and proposals made by the Governor. It is quite obvious that we cannot, to start with, have anything to do with the Government on the basis of Fazlul Huq being the Premier or even remaining in the Government in any way.

Besides, the very basis of the proposals is such that we cannot commit ourselves, specially in view of the recent announcement of His Majesty's Government and the expected arrival of Sir Stafford Cripps. As you rightly put it we do not know what will be the

upshot of this new move and what we may have to face in the event of our being let down.

However, these are matters that we shall have to face as and when the occasion arises, but in the meantime I agree with you that we cannot accept these proposals as the very basis is detrimental to vital interest of the Musalmans.

I am surprised that the Governor should refer you to the Premier with regard to our complaint that the Muslim League workers have been repressed by the ministry and its chief who is in charge of the portfolio as a Home Member. So, we are asked now to go to the accused for justice. This extraordinary mentality of the Governor is very difficult to understand.

He should be told straight [away] that either he should put the matter right or take the consequences. He definitely assured me that the abuse of the Defence of India Rules against the Muslim League workers will be stopped.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Sir K. Nazimuddin,  
Gariahat Road,  
Calcutta

<sup>1</sup>No. 404.

## 409

*Mohammad Abdul Jabbar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 827/20-21*

PAHARI IMLI, GHORFA,  
DELHI,  
17 March 1942

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Sometime ago I had sent you a copy of a letter<sup>1</sup> [addressed] to the Lord Privy Seal in London. Now I have just received his reply of 22 December 1941 [as under]:

Thank you for your letter and enclosures. I have sent on the letter to M. Camille Huysmans. Please thank your brother for his letter.

2. Long ago we two brothers had proposed a scheme for the true solution of the Indian problem. It was a partition scheme. We

wanted then a much bigger portion of India.

3. I hope you have not forgotten my poor innocent brother [Professor] Mohammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri, a true follower of yours. He and his wife are still in internment. They are all at present in the Parole Camp, Naini Tal. Both my brother and his wife are very sick. Please do try once more to have them released.

4. I sent you in Bombay my humble work titled *Din and its Nature*. I am sorry that I did not even receive a simple acknowledgement. I am anxious to know whether the work was received by you or not.

5. In conclusion, I have full confidence in your Pakistan scheme and am sure that you will certainly achieve it.

I am the most insignificant,  
 PROF. MOHAMMAD ABDUL JABBAR KHEIRI  
 M.A., Ph.D

<sup>1</sup>See Enclosure to No. 128 & No. 303.

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*Raza Ali to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 141/8*

9 ELECTRIC LANE,  
 NEW DELHI,  
 18 March 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Enclosed is a note entitled—*The Muslim Case and Sir Stafford Cripps*. I do not claim any originality for it but I have endeavored to embody some relevant facts with regard to the Muslim position. If you consider that there is anything which you would like to discuss I will come over towards the week-end at any time that you may find convenient.

I dictated the note last week but was unable to correct it till this afternoon. I do not propose to make any use of it except to submit it to you.

Yours sincerely,  
 RAZA ALI



*Enclosure**F. 141/9-14*

## THE MUSLIM CASE AND SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS

Marshall [*sic* for Generalissimo] Chiang Kai-Shek's statement<sup>1</sup> and Madam Shek's broadcast<sup>2</sup> before their departure from Calcutta should be ■ great eye-opener to us. Both of them emphasized the need of political power being conceded to the people of India. Some political observers take the view that this plea in their statements was due to their close association with Congress leaders, principally Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. In some respects the condition of China is very similar to that of European countries. I am sure that it was not possible for Generalissimo and his wife to gauge the depth of the division into which the Indian society is split up. There is a vast Muslim population in China and the indications are that the General was led to believe that the interests of Hindus and Muslims are common in India just as the interests of Buddhist, Muslim and Christian population are common in China. This alone can sufficiently explain the view to which he gave expression. His utterance is certainly one of the events that form the background of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission to our country.

2. On his way to the Far East Sir Stafford Cripps paid a flying visit to India a few months after the outbreak of the present war. My recollection is that he only visited Bombay and Calcutta. For the sake of argument I will, however, assume that he visited a number of other places as well. The fact remains that 90 per cent of the people with whom he discussed the Indian question on that occasion were Congressmen. I happen to know some leaders of the British Labour Party. My impression is that according to their lights they mean well by India. But the most important point to remember in this connection is that they take the Congress and the League as no more than two rival political parties in the sense in which political parties exist in England. Not only do Labour leaders hold this view but the British public opinion as a whole shares it and believes that the differences between the Congress and the League are similar to those to be found among the rival parties in western countries and can be resolved if England is prepared to part with real political power by granting dominion status or independence to India. Further, it appears that opinion in England is inclined to consider dominion status and independence as almost synonymous terms.

3. All that is, of course, a fallacy. The Hindus and Muslims in this country do not merely belong to different political groups but are divided by religion, language, sentiments, traditions, social customs and culture—indeed by all those things that distinguish one nation from another in the west. In the matter of dress and food the differences are more marked than between the peoples of Hungary and Turkey. Indeed, the linguistic, cultural and religious differences between the Dutch and the Germans are not so pronounced as those that separate the two major communities (Hindus and Muslims) of India. The whole of Europe fails to furnish a case which may be cited as a parallel to the Indian position. At times Ireland is quoted as a parallel case. An analysis would, however, show that the differences in India are deeper, wider and more vital than those to be found between Ulster [Northern Ireland] and Eire [now the Republic of Ireland]. After all both these countries are Christian; their dress, mode of living, social customs and manners are about the same. There are also inter-marriages between the populations of the two countries. The main difference is that the population of Eire is mostly Catholic whereas the people of Ulster are principally Protestant. To this may be added the memory of past wrongs done to Ireland by the English, the main count of the charge being the planting of an English colony in Ulster. The position in India is that both these factors exist in a much aggravated form. The Hindus and Muslims instead of being two sects of one religion follow two different religions which have as little in common between themselves as any two religions in the world. As for the second factor, Muslims have settled in India in such large numbers as to constitute a majority of the population in several provinces. The Hindus have started a campaign to deprive the Muslims of the superior numerical position they have in such provinces and hence the opposition to Pakistan.

4. This is the kernel of the whole Indian problem. Had the Muslims been a minority in every province, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha would have found it plausible to appeal to the conscience of the democratic England and not to tamper with provincial numerical proportions. As it is, our adversaries do not know how to meet in argument the Muslim demand for Pakistan which is quite in keeping with their own political philosophy and lip-profession of equality of rights between community and community. In addition to these considerations there are other

factors to which a reference has been made above. Indeed it is not too much to say that having regard to the considerations of religion, tradition and culture, and on the whole of race and social customs, it is easier for China and Japan to have one Government than for the Muslims and Hindus in India to live in peace under the same democratic Central Government.

5. It is not the purpose of this note to overstate the differences between the two major communities of India. At the same time it would be a stupendous blunder to suppose that these differences are merely political and can be removed by the grant of dominion status. Taking religion first, it is obvious that there is much more in common between the followers of Judaism, Christianity and Islam than between the followers of two such radically different religions as Islam and Hinduism. Islam teaches the oneness of God and is certainly the most democratic religion in the world. As regard, Hinduism, quite apart from the number of gods and the division of power amongst those gods, it is important to remember that Hinduism is not so much a religious as a social system. Not only does it divide the Hindu society into four castes but has subjected 60 million people to abject conditions, the like of which is not to be found in any country in the world. It is true that a section of Hindus who have received western education are prepared to dine with Muslims and Europeans at the same table and may not believe in untouchability. This innovation has, however, left the masses absolutely uninfluenced. It was not Hindu religion alone but the overwhelming force of the Hindu social system that drove Buddhism out of India. The readiness of a few thousands, tens of thousands, or for that matter a few millions of Hindus to conform to European social customs, or treat the unfortunate untouchables a little less inhumanly under Mr. Gandhi's political leadership, is a passing phase. India has witnessed many changes like this in its long, chequered history. Within a century or so of the British connection coming to an end, the same force which enslaved 60 million people by branding them as untouchables, and exterminated in its homeland the great religion of Buddhism which had built up one of the biggest empires in the world, will be at full work. It is impossible for the Muslims to shut their eyes to lessons from history. The cyclonic mass of Hinduism brought about the submergence of the untouchables and the expulsion of Buddhism from India. Had any political party in England treated its rivals as Hinduism has treated its opponents, the analogy of



British political parties would possibly have been understandable. In Italy and Germany the technique of doing away with political opponents—assuming that the Hindus and Muslims were no more than rival [political] parties—has been developed on lines with which the readers of ancient Indian history are not unfamiliar. As a result of all this the Muslims feel that if they consented to place the Hindu majority in perpetual power at the Centre, their fate would not be dissimilar to what befell their co-religionists in Spain a few centuries ago.

6. The argument that the Muslims are not the only minority in India and that their case should be considered along with that of the other minorities begs the whole question. The fact is that except for the Parsis who, besides being very small in numbers, are settled mostly in the city of Bombay, there is no Indian community which is not interlinked with the Hindus either by race or religion. The Sikh minority is part and parcel of the Hindu community, so much so [that] it is by no means a rare thing for one brother to be a Sikh and another to be a Hindu. There is no essential political difference between the two groups. As for Indian Christians, they are mostly the descendants of Hindu parents and have the same outlook, mentality and ideals as their Hindu cousins. The only section of the population, though extremely small in numbers, which possesses the characteristics of a distinct community is composed of Anglo-Indians. It is, however, important to point out that, realizing their hopeless numerical inferiority, they are exhibiting a growing tendency to cast their lot with the Hindu majority.

7. The case of the Muslims thus stands on a footing all by itself, the like of which is not to be found in any country where a democratic form of government has been tried or is functioning. For reasons stated above, the cases of Canada, South Africa and Switzerland are beside the point. It should not be forgotten that the experiment of democracy was never tried in India except for a brief space of about two and a half years when Congress Governments functioned in most of the provinces from July 1937 to November 1939. Fortunately, full sovereign rights were not conferred on these Governments by the Government of India Act of 1935. The hardships, discrimination and persecution to which Muslims were subjected by Congress Governments are a matter of history. The enthusiastic observance of the Day of Deliverance by the Muslim community throughout India in December 1939 is a sufficient index of Muslim



feelings towards the extremely dangerous experiment in democracy made by England in India. The Congress regime is still remembered by the Muslims as a bad dream.

8. The Muslims are fully alive to the importance of India defending herself with the greatest vigour from foreign invasion. In this connection it may be pointed out that unlike the Congress the Muslim League has never opposed any war effort. Nor has it ever shown unwillingness to consider any proposals for finding a solution of the constitutional problem on lines which will be equally just to both communities. It is still the desire of the League to find a basis of settlement equally applicable to both. But in this endeavour it is not prepared to be a party to any agreement which will have the effect of mortgaging the rights of posterity or amount to another Munich Pact,<sup>3</sup> leaving it to the Congress to put its own interpretation on its clauses or resile from its terms when a favourable opportunity presents itself.

<sup>1</sup>See No. 173, TP, I, 231-3.

<sup>2</sup>Not traced.

<sup>3</sup>Britain, France, Germany and Italy signed an agreement in Munich in 1938, allowing Nazi Germany to take possession of part of Czechoslovakia. Conceding Hitler's claim to *lebensraum* was an act of appeasement, which failed to pre-empt Nazi aggression against Poland in September 1939, leading to the Second World War.

## 411

*L. G. Pinnell to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Misc. I/34*

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,  
NEW DELHI,  
18 March 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In accordance with procedure desired by Sir Stafford Cripps for opening conversations, it would be appreciated if you could arrange for representatives of the Muslim League, who it is hoped will not exceed four and should please not exceed six in number, to come to Delhi to see Sir Stafford Cripps on a near date after March 25th. It is much regretted that no more precise date can be settled at the present moment but the earliest possible notice will be given to you when exact arrangements are known. Meanwhile,

would you kindly let me know<sup>1</sup> the names of proposed representatives and where you will be staying meantime.

Yours sincerely,  
L. G. PINNELL

<sup>1</sup>See No. 412.

412

*M. H. Saiyid to L. G. Pinnell*

*SHC, Misc. I/35*

NEW DELHI,  
19 March 1942

Dear Sir,

Mr. Jinnah is in receipt of your letter of the 18th of March,<sup>1</sup> and in reply desires me to convey that he will be glad to meet Sir Stafford Cripps on his arrival in Delhi.

After Mr. Jinnah is apprised of the conclusions which represent a just and final solution and the scheme of His Majesty's Government, the question of procedure, the matters referred to in your letter, and other details may be arranged.

Mr. Jinnah's programme, as at present advised, is that he will remain in Delhi till the 2nd of April when he must leave for Allahabad to preside over the annual session of the All India Muslim League, which has already been decided upon to commence on the 3rd of April 1942.

Yours faithfully,  
[M. H. SAIYID]  
*Private Secretary to M. A. Jinnah*

L. G. Pinnell, Esq.,  
Viceroy's House,  
New Delhi

<sup>1</sup>No. 411.

413

*Fatma Begum to M. A. Jinnah**F. 582/2*

NAWANKOTE,  
LAHORE,  
19 March 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to take your valuable time for a few minutes to report briefly on my tour of north Punjab in connection with League propaganda and other cognate matters. I hope that you will very kindly give it due attention.

During the last week I visited Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Gujrat, Wazirabad, and Gujranwala, and addressed women's meetings at all these places about the Muslim League. They had the desired effect everywhere. I was also able to enrol about 400 women members in the Women's Section of the League.

A lady from Jhelum, who does not wish her name to be disclosed (she is Mrs. Mohammad Ahsan, wife of Tehsildar) has given Rs.100 for League purposes with the request that the same should be forwarded to you. She was formerly ■ Congressite but has now become a staunch Leaguer. The money is being sent to your address. Kindly make arrangements for a receipt. It should be sent to me and I will forward it to her.

The question of a President for the Punjab Provincial Muslim League is now engaging the attention of the public here. Doubtless, you are not unaware of how the matters stand at present. Sh. Sadiq Hasan of Amritsar is the officiating President and election will take place shortly for ■ permanent incumbent. With your permission, I propose that Sh. Sadiq Hasan should continue to be the President till August next, and the Sardar of Kote Fateh Khan should then be elected in his place. Sir Mohammad Nawaz Khan is the best man that I can think of. At present there is no doubt [that] he is not in the League, as he was expelled in connection with the National Defence Council affair. But the ban will be removed in August next. He is, I understand, not unfavourably inclined

towards League. If you approve the proposal, we may canvass for him here.

Waiting for a favourable reply, and with kind regards,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

FATMA BEGUM

*Principal,*

*Jinnah Islamia College for Girls*

414

*S. M. Zauqi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 857/54*

DHANMANDI,

AJMER,

*19 March 1942*

Dear Sir,

This Cripps affair is a very poor show and reveals utter bankruptcy of real statesmanship. Importance of Muslims has not been fully realized yet. The lines on which radio propaganda is being directed by the London B.B.C. clearly indicates that the move is simply intended to win over Hindus. A mere promise in terms unknown to us means nothing at this juncture. In my humble opinion, the Muslim League should refuse to participate in the talks unless they are based on the Two-Nation Theory. Any understanding with the Congress on any other basis will be suicidal. We have only to look up to God for help, but we cannot look up to God unless we first look upon ourselves.

The local affairs are as they were. Perhaps, we shall be able to settle them at Allahabad. But no meeting has been held here yet to select delegates for the coming annual session. In that case, if I take with me two or three good Leaguers as delegates to Allahabad, will I be justified? They will help us to arrive at a settlement. An early hint will oblige.

Yours sincerely,

S. M. ZAUQI



415

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 204/199*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
20 March 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The latest report emanating from the Viceregal House is not good.

Mr. Churchill is encouraging Mr. Fazlul Huq and his Azad Conference.

Mr. Fazlul Huq and Allah Bukhsh and other quislings of Muslim India have been invited to meet Sir Stafford Cripps.

The question is: Who will represent Muslim India?

The quislings are going to meet Cripps but whom shall they represent and on whose behalf they will speak?

Is it not a serious deviation from the so far recognized position of the British Government vis-a-vis Muslim India, namely that the Muslim League alone represents Muslim India?

No doubt Sir Cripps in his past and last visits to India met, patted and specially encouraged the Congressite Muslims and the quislings of the mass contact movement who were deputed and paid for doing the service of disruption and division of Muslim India. He was the man who received Mr. Abdul Qayyum Ansari and encouraged him in his mission.

But there is a world of difference in the present and past visits of Cripps, because Cripps first came to India as an individual or an agent of the Congress, but Cripps is at present coming to India as a representative of the British Cabinet.

Then, is it right for Sir Cripps to meet and encourage the quislings of Muslim India and thereby weaken the League position?

I again submit that the League should refuse to meet Sir Cripps in case he is going to meet or entertain any other Muslim party leader save and except the League leader.

Yours sincerely ,  
RAGHIB AHSAN

416

*M. A. Jinnah to S. A. M. Hadi Naqshbandi**F. 773/8*NEW DELHI,  
20 March 1942

Dear Sir,

I am glad to learn from your letter<sup>1</sup> that you are going to publish a special number of *Bedari* on the occasion of Sir Syed Day. I wish your venture every success.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was indeed a great man. He left behind him an example worthy enough to be followed by every Musalman. In fact, he has become a tradition of untiring work and energetic zeal.

Muslim India is greatly indebted to him. He will live for ever in the heart of every Musalman as a symbol of sincerity and devotion to the cause of his nation and as the founder of the institution of the Aligarh Muslim University. He still lives as a precursor of the great Muslim movement in India. We feel the force of his character even today.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAHS.A.M. Hadi, Esq.,  
Editor,  
*Bedari*, Aligarh<sup>1</sup>See F. 773/9, QAP. Not printed.

417

*M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Zauqi**F. 875/53*NEW DELHI,  
21 March 1942

Dear Mr. Zauqi,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th of March,<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it.

With regard to your local affairs, the delegates to the annual sessions can only be elected according to the rules. Of course, you

can bring Muslim Leaguers but they cannot be treated as delegates if they are not elected under the rules.

If some of the leading and influential men come to Allahabad, they will be welcome and perhaps it may also help us to settle your local affairs.

I shall bear in mind all your suggestions referred to in your letter.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

S. M. Zauqi, Esq.,  
Dhanmandi,  
Ajmer

<sup>1</sup>No. 414.

## 418

*Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 208/5-8*

*21 March 1942*

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Since the dawn of civilisation, India has never known a form of government as represented by the modern democratic system. Perhaps the British are eager to pass on to us a system of government which suited them for centuries but which will perhaps be unable to bear the strain of the present war.

2. Sir Stafford Cripps will soon be here and it seems that his visit may powerfully affect the political destiny of the Indian Muslims. Last week, I had an occasion to visit various centres in the Hyderabad District and at each place I made ■ speech. For favour of your consideration, I am venturing to reproduce hereunder some of the salient points of my speeches:

- i. If you are a true Muslim, support the Quaid-i-Azam.
- ii. Pakistan may be good or bad, desirable or undesirable, and its attainment may be conducive to the good of Muslims or otherwise, leave the issue aside for the present.
- iii. Quaid-i-Azam is demanding fifty per cent representation in the proposed national Government. Many Muslims with their inborn instinct of fairness think that this is an exaggerated and unjust demand. Remember that in a democratic government less than half means zero.

- iv. After detailing scores of instances from the constitutional and political histories of various democracies, to prove the preceding point, I asked my audience [whether], in this crisis of their history, they wanted to keep afloat or go under.
- v. If you want to survive, there is only one Muslim in India who will help you to do so and he is the Quaid-i-Azam.
- vi. But he must be backed by all Muslims to a man.
- vii. The Indian Muslims have to fight on three fronts: the Hindus, the British, and ■ section of their own people.
- viii. Like the British in the days gone by, the Hindus have begun to create puppets and quislings among us. We shall have to liquidate them.

3. Quaid-i-Azam, Raza Sahib and humble persons like myself are all Shias. In 1928, we had held a Shia Conference at Sukkur, where nearly fifty thousand Shias attended. If necessary, we can get together even [a] larger number of Shias who, I am confident, will declare for the League. Similar things may perhaps be possible in other provinces.

4. The Momins claimed that they were forty-five million. The Secretary of State for India has put ■ decimal point between four and five and said the Momins were between four to five million. I am inclined to take further liberty with mathematics, as is the wont of Muslims, and move the decimal point a digit further, which will show the Momins as less than half a million. It should not be beyond our resources to win over even this small number if as a community they feel their interests are not safe with the Muslim League.

5. Fazlul Huq and Allah Bakhsh seem to present apparently difficult problems. They are Muslims and Premiers of two provinces where Muslims are in majority. But remember that, though the Quaid-i-Azam had been a staunch opponent of the federal Government ever since the idea was first mooted, it has taken time for the Muslims to realise its [inherent] danger and wake up to the realities of the situation. The League has come into its own after the introduction of provincial autonomy.

6. It is therefore necessary to obtain [*sic*] a plebiscite of the Muslims. The Council of the All India Muslim League, at its next meeting at Delhi, must challenge the constitutionally representative character of the Sind and Bengal Premiers.

7. One of the ways it can be done is this; give the choice of swords to your opponents. Tell Fazlul Huq and Allah Bukhsh to let ten per



cent of their supporters resign from the selected constituencies which the League will be willing to contest and win thumbs up. If these *Azad* Premiers are fearful and timid about letting their supporters slip away in this fashion, the League should be willing to offer ten per cent or more of their own seats in the Bengal and Sind Assemblies and give an opportunity to the Azad Conference to win these seats if they can, to prove the hollowness of the League claim to be the only political[ly] representative institution of the Muslims of India.

8. I wonder what you would think of my last suggestion and whether it may at all be necessary for the League Council to pass resolutions along such a line. The delay involved would not be unwelcome to the British. Canada, with its greater pre-occupation with the war efforts than India, went for a national plebiscite to ascertain whether Canadian soldiers should be sent out to serve on other lands than the mother country. The risks at issue for the Indian Muslims are sufficient to justify these elections, if the British were unwilling to recognise the League as the only representative organisation of the Muslims.

9. I have figured out for myself the seats which the ministerialists [*sic*] in Sind may vacate. I have no doubt the League can win them. But if the League Party in the Sind Assembly is confronted with going to the polls, it shall have to contest only one seat.

10. My dear friend, G. M. Sayed, will not hesitate a moment to resign his seat, and I shall be willing to pledge any security with the Quaid-i-Azam if the opponent of Sayed does not forfeit his deposit. I wish I could say the same thing about his head.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,  
HATIM A. ALAVI

419

*H. Rahman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 875/47*

CONFIDENTIAL

GOVERNMENT COLLEGE,  
CHITTAGONG,  
21 March 1942

Dear Sir,

I beg to submit the enclosed Memorandum for your kind perusal.

This is an humble attempt to help the League President in the presentation of his demands before Sir Stafford Cripps in a clear and concrete shape.

Hoping, in all humility, to be excused for the liberty I [have] taken.  
With best regards; let God grant you a long life.

Yours sincerely,

H. RAHMAN

*Professor of Economics & Politics*

*Enclosure*

*F. 875/48-52*

*[Extract]*

MEMORANDUM

The Hindus of India have [since] long made it a fashion to blame Britain that she has kept the Indians divided in order to perpetuate her rule in India. But they themselves have been pursuing the most heinous policy of divide and rule with regard to the Musalmans of India. They are focussing on trouble between the Shias and Sunnis, the Projas and the League, and among the Ahrars, Khaksars, Momins, and Jamiat-e-'Ulamites to disrupt Muslim solidarity in India. They have kept the Frontier Muslims within the fold of the Indian National Congress, and have insinuated [sic] the Bengal Premier to revolt against the Muslim League.

Now that Sir Stafford Cripps is coming to India for the final and just solution of the vexing Indian constitutional problem, the Congress will try its level best to convince him that the majority of Indian Muslims are outside the pale of the Muslim League, and that by the recent mass contact movement it has secured the loyalty of the vast Muslim masses. The League President will undoubtedly press upon his demands of Pakistan and equal status with the Hindus. But Sir Stafford is not Mr. Amery. He is pro-Hindu. How to convince him, against his belief? The best way to establish the pre-eminence and might of the League will be by arranging a general plebiscite immediately after the War.

But here we distinguish between the immediate and ultimate aims of the League, i.e. between the proposals for the war constitution and the post-war constitution of India. The former might reasonably require utmost compromises and concessions, at the President's discretion, from the League in the interest of the Allies' victory; but since the latter is concerned with the attainment of Pakistan, there

must not be any compromise on that ideal.

The Hindus argue that the proposed *Akhand Hindustan* will offer freedom to the Muslims. But the Muslims have suffered enough tyranny of Hindu rule, under the British patronage, during the last one hundred years. They reasonably fear that their rightful aspirations and claims will be completely trampled [down] in the so-called all-India constitution.

So, the best way to secure victory for the League's ideal is by placing the Pakistan issue for a general plebiscite.

Much of the success of the proposed general voting will depend on the way in which the electorate is constituted. We, therefore, submit the following suggestions for the constitution of the electorate:

- a. The voting should be oral since secret voting might be manipulated in favour of Hindus.
- b. There should be no property qualifications since the majority of the Musalmans are poor.
- c. There should be no requirement of literacy since 90% of the Musalmans are illiterate.
- d. Every young man above 15 years of age should have the right to vote.
- e. Women should be excluded since they are not expected to be present at oral voting.
- f. The entire management of this plebiscite should be entrusted to a commission of neutral Europeans, if not Muslims.

This plebiscite should come after the War. Meanwhile let there be an intensive propaganda drive to organise the Muslims. Let Pakistan remain an emotional objective to rouse up the Muslim masses from the age-long ignorance and slumber and to generate in them an irresistible desire for independence on the basis of self-determination.

420

*M. A. Jinnah to Fatma Begum*

*F. 582/1*

NEW DELHI,  
21 March 1942

Dear Begum Sahiba,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th of March<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it. I am glad you are doing good work and that on your tour you

found every encouragement.

I am grateful to Mrs. Mohammad Ahsan for her sending me Rs. 100 for the League purposes. I appreciate it all the more as it has come from her heart, unasked. It is not so much the amount but the spirit behind it, which I welcome. I am sending you a separate receipt enclosed herewith.

With regard to the question of election of the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, it is of the utmost importance. No doubt, Nawab Sir Mohammad Nawaz Khan is admirably suited for the position. I know his heart is with the League. But he was under the wrong impression and misled when he joined the War Committee during the period when the Muslim League had provisionally asked the Leaguers not to do so. As a result, his name was removed from the membership of the All India Muslim League organisation by the Committee. It was a technical offence.

If, however, he is inclined to accept the presidentship of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, a way out of it may be found.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 413.

421

*M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 365/39*

124 MUSLIM COLONY,  
KARACHI,  
24 March 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith ■ copy of my telegram which I have sent to Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of my Party in the Assembly, for your information. I hope to reach Delhi on 30th morning and stop there for three days before proceeding to Allahabad to attend the All India



[Muslim] League session. I hope I will have the honour of meeting you at Delhi during my stay there.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. KHUHRO

*Enclosure*  
*Mohammad Ayub Khuhro to R. Stafford Cripps*  
*Telegram, F. 365/40*

124 MUSLIM COLONY,  
KARACHI,  
[Undated]

Sind Muslims solidly support Jinnah and League demands. Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh not representing Muslims. He owes premiership to 25 non-Muslim votes plus votes of Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries constituting majority in Assembly.

M. A. KHUHRO  
*Leader of Opposition in Sind Assembly*

422

*Sadr Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah*  
*F. 320/5-6*

SULTAN JEHAN MANZIL,  
ALIGARH,  
25 March 1942

Dear Sir,

I hope you are aware that the All India Muslim Educational Conference has been working on a scheme of Muslim education on an all-India basis and it has reached a stage when it deserves a closer scrutiny and a sympathetic study by all Muslims in general, and by the members of the Conference Central Standing Committee in particular.

At the 52nd annual session of the All India Muslim Educational Conference held at Calcutta on 28th December 1939, Nawab Kamal Yar Jung Bahadur, in his presidential address, had emphasised the need of an all-India survey of Muslim education with a view to

preparing ■ broad-based scheme for Muslims' education.

On account of this initiative from the President, the following resolution moved by myself and seconded by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, was unanimously passed:

- i. This session of the All India Muslim Educational Conference recommends that since the Musalmans generally do not approve of the Wardha Scheme of education,<sup>1</sup> the conference should appoint ■ committee of educational experts who may prepare a comprehensive and broad-based educational scheme which may not only be acceptable to both the Muslims of the majority and the minority provinces but also be helpful in the preservation of the distinctive features of the cultural and social order of the Muslims.
- ii. This conference further authorises the President to correspond with the following gentlemen [*names omitted*] to accept the membership of the committee, so that the work of the preparation of an educational scheme may be started at an early date.

The terms of reference of the committee would be:

- a. the committee should study the local educational conditions in various provinces in the light of the educational material already available.
- b. the committee should prepare its report after taking into consideration the cultural and economic requirements of the Muslims and present these in the next annual session of the conference through the Central Standing Committee.

The above committee commonly called the Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee, after finishing its work, has now submitted its report, ■ copy of which has already been sent to you from Calcutta. This report and your views will be placed before the next annual session of the All India Muslim Educational Conference.

A meeting of the Central Standing Committee will therefore be held on 20th April 1942 at 5.30 p.m. in Sultan Jehan Manzil, Conference Compound, Aligarh. Your presence in the meeting is requested. In case you are not able to attend the meeting, kindly send your opinion about the report at least two days before the date of the meeting.

Yours faithfully,

SADR YAR JUNG

*Honorary Secretary,*

*All India Muslim Educational Conference*

<sup>1</sup>See No. 154, note 2, *JP*, XV, 225.

423

*R. Stafford Cripps to M. A. Jinnah**F. 19/1*

PERSONAL/SECRET

3 QUEEN VICTORIA ROAD,  
NEW DELHI,  
26 March 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am much obliged to you for pointing out to me the possibility that the closing words of para (c) (i) of the document,<sup>1</sup> which I handed to you yesterday,<sup>2</sup> might not be clearly understood. As it is now proposed to publish the document at an early date, I have decided to make the following alteration to meet the point which you made:

Omit all words after "prepared" in the second part of sub-para (c) (i) and substitute the following:

to agree upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

Yours sincerely,  
R. STAFFORD CRIPPS

<sup>1</sup>See F. 19/13-5, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 380, TP, I, 480-1.

424

*Sikander Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 353/59*4 HARDINGE AVENUE,  
CAMP NEW DELHI,  
28 March 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In reply<sup>1</sup> to my letter<sup>2</sup> in which I requested to be relieved of my membership of the [Muslim League] Working Committee, you mentioned that it would be placed before the Working Committee. In view of our conversation yesterday, I do not think that this is now necessary.

May I once again offer my sincere thanks for the kindness and courtesy which I have invariably received from you while I was associated with the Working Committee. I need hardly reiterate that if my services are at anytime needed in the interest of the community, those will be at your disposal.

Yours sincerely,  
 SIKANDER HYAT  
*[Premier of the Punjab]*

<sup>1</sup>No. 401.

<sup>2</sup>No. 397.

425

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/205*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
 CALCUTTA,  
 28 March 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing two notes, one on the general position of Muslim India and the other on the all-India Muslim question of Hyderabad vis-a-vis the future constitution of the sub-continent of India.

If you think proper you may forward it to Sir Stafford Cripps, the Viceroy [and] Crown Representative, and Mr. Amery as a Muslim voice from Bengal, the danger point in India.

You can make alterations as you think proper.

Your most sincerely,  
 RAGHIB AHSAN

*Enclosure 1*

*F. 204/206-9*

THE BANIA NEVER WON A WAR IN HISTORY

GRAVE DANGER OF ANTAGONIZING BENGAL AND PUNJAB

A POINT TO BE CONSIDERED BY SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS

Sir,

The question of all questions is how to defend India and how to win the war against the Axis,<sup>1</sup> particularly against Japan and Germany?



## THE BRUTAL FACT

The brutal fact is that the Hindus, particularly the high castes of Brahmins and *baniyas*, have been opposing war efforts and also making huge fortunes by war-profiteering. They on the one hand have been opposing the war on principle and at the same time resorting to questionable methods of getting war contracts. The straightforward Muslims of the Punjab and North-West India, described as "the Belfast Boys of the East" by G. B. Shaw in the *Cavalcade*, have been sacrificing the flower of their youth and manhood for defending the democratic front while the Muslim *lascars* and seamen of Bengal were among the first to sacrifice their lives for the cause of freedom. We challenge you to cite the example of any other people in the East who can equal their sacrifices for the cause of freedom and the cause of the British Commonwealth.

The contribution of Hyderabad to the cause of freedom ranks second to no other dominion in the Empire. As the leader of Muslim India she has helped to keep Muslim India steady.

## DANGEROUS SITUATION IN BENGAL

The most dangerous situation in the border Provinces of Bengal, Assam and Bihar requires immediate attention of the British Government. Ninety-nine Hindus out of 100 are praying for the victory of Japan and the ruination of the British. They are eager to welcome Japan as a Hindu power and see Subhas Chandra Bose crowned as the first Hindu king of Japanese India. The members of the Forward Bloc, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Congress and the Arya Samaj are openly preaching the cult of Pan-Hindudom and the union of Hindu India and Buddhist Japan.

Under such a situation, if the British Government antagonize the Muslims, they will most surely not only lose India but also lose the war and become extinct as a power.

## MILITARY IMPORTANCE OF BENGAL AND PUNJAB; WHY?

Because you cannot afford to antagonize the Muslims who are in dominant majority in the two key and most vital Frontier Regions, (i) Bengal—Assam and (ii) Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Pathanistan; in short the eastern frontier and the north-west frontier of India. The first, Bengal, is the land of the Muslim *lascars* or seamen. Bengal, moreover, is the land where the fifth-column of Japan is the most active, most strongly entrenched, armed and organized, and where the Muslim majority is seething with discontent and believes that the British have condemned the Bengali Muslims in their own homeland to the accursed slavery of the fifth-column (Forward Bloc) and the

Hindu Mahasabha.

The second, the Punjab and N.W. Frontier, is the sword-arm of India and supplies the bulk of India's fighting power.

#### 99 P.C. IRRETRIEVABLY PRO-JAPAN

The 99 per cent Bengali Hindus are irretrievably pro-Japan. They can never be converted. They regard Japan as their brother. The Muslims are over 80 per cent in the border District of Chittagong, the first major Indian port to be attacked by Japan.

Do the British think it advisable to antagonize this 80 per cent Muslim population in Chittagong where the terrorist party is the strongest in India?

Do the British expect that the Muslims will fight for the subjection of their own race and undoing of their own fate and future?

Do the British hope that the Bengali Hindus and the followers of Subhas Bose and Sarat Bose will ever fight against Japan?

Do they hope to convert the fifth-columnists by sacrificing the Muslims, the real fighters and defenders of India?

If so, the British are doomed to perdition. The sooner they realize the tide, strong and deep nature of the fifth-column organization in Bengal, Assam and Bihar, the better for them.

The British should realise that the race of *Banias* (capitalists and financiers in India) and Brahmins (the race of priests and authors of caste-slavery and world's strongest monopolists) have never won a war in history and will never win this war.

The Muslims are by their racial nature, tradition and economic position real socialists, democrats and 'the Orangemen of the East'.

The Muslims stand for equal justice for all peoples. They are the sworn enemies of caste-monopoly, Brahminical oligarchy and *bania* plutocracy.

#### MUSLIM DEMANDS

The Muslim demands as felt in Bengal are:

1. Justice and war interest equally demand that Muslim India must get a clear and definite guarantee of its freedom and future and its right of self-determination as an independent nation.

2. Muslim India must get equal share in the War Cabinet or cabinets of India.

#### HYDERABAD—AN ALL-INDIA MUSLIM QUESTION

The sovereignty, integrity and independence of the Dominion of Hyderabad as the premier Muslim State in this sub-continent must be fully recognized and all 'ceded districts' returned to Hyderabad, including the Berar, Northern Circars and the parts of Masulipatam

and Nizampatam, thus securing her access to the sea. No Muslim settlement can be complete without a full and satisfactory settlement of all the outstanding questions between Hyderabad and Britain. Hyderabad as the symbol of the Muslim empire and the custodian of our past tradition is an all-India Muslim question.

#### INDEPENDENCE OF MUSLIM COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

The integrity and independence of all Muslim countries and peoples of the Far East, Malaya, Dutch [East] Indies, Near East, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Arabia and Africa must be recognized in principle and Britain must give solemn pledge to support the demand for the national and religious freedom of the Muslim peoples of Soviet Russia.

#### PEACE CONFERENCE AND INDIAN MUSLIMS

The British must give a pledge that Indian Muslims as a major party and major determinant factor in this World War must get an equal voice and representation on the Peace Conference which will be responsible for the reconstruction of the world political and economic map.

<sup>1</sup>The alliance of Germany, Italy and Japan in the Second World War.

### *Enclosure 2*

*F. 204/210-1*

#### DOMINION OF HYDERABAD AND SELF-DETERMINATION

The following points should be considered in connection with the future of India and Hyderabad:

1. The principle of national self-determination appears to have been recognized by the British Government for all major parties, provinces, States and communities of India.

2. [omitted]

3. Hyderabad declared her independence from the Central Government of Delhi in 1724 after the death of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1707.

4. Hyderabad was an independent and sovereign State long before the British had any footing or position in India.

5. By treaties, the British recognized the independence and sovereignty of the Dominion of Hyderabad which had a direct connection with the British Crown as her 'faithful ally'.

6. Hyderabad ceded some districts, e.g. Berar, Northern Circars, ports of Masulipatam and Nizampatam to the British to defray the expenses of the Hyderabad contingents and other forces kept by the British for the defence of the Dominion.

7. Now that the British is handing over the rule of India to the Indians and granting Dominion Status to different units, provinces and



peoples, and Hyderabad is fully prepared to undertake her own defence as a sovereign State, it is but fair and just:

- i. To recognize Hyderabad as a fully sovereign and independent State of equal status in the comity of world states.
- ii. To return Berar, Northern Circars, ports of Masulipatam and Nizampatam to Hyderabad.
- iii. To withdraw British forces from the territory of Hyderabad to the satisfaction of Hyderabad.
- iv. To settle all other outstanding questions between Hyderabad and Britain to the satisfaction of Hyderabad.
- v. To see that Hyderabad freely makes her choice of either remaining in isolation or joining one of the Hindu, Muslim or Dravidian Confederacies.

CONFEDERACY OF DRAVIDIAN DECCAN  
HEADED BY DOMINION OF HYDERABAD

The Justice Party, representing the non-Brahmins, non-Aryans, Dravidian peoples of the South, the Deccan, Madras, Kerala and Malabar, speaking non-Sanskrit languages of Tamil, Telegu and Malayalam, is demanding the separation of the South from the North and the constitution of an independent Dravidnad or Dravidisthan.

It appears that Hyderabad is destined to be the political head or the pivotal axis of the confederacy of the Deccan or Dravidisthan.

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*Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/38*

PESHAWAR EXPRESS,  
29 March 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As I had told you yesterday, it has been published in today's newspapers that Sir Stafford Cripps will see representatives of the States' people also. As directed by you, I have sent a telegram and written a letter to him, copy of which is enclosed. Now it remains with you to save the position of the All India States' Muslim League, and I ardently request you to kindly take every interest in this



behalf. I do realise that among the confronting problems, the representation of the States' people has not much importance, but it cannot also be that the States' Muslims are neglected. I wait for your instructions.

Very very best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

*Enclosure*  
*Bahadur Yar Jung to R. Stafford Cripps*  
*SHC, Hyderabad II/37*

PESHAWAR EXPRESS,  
29 March 1942

Dear Sir,

In confirmation of my telegram, I have the pleasure to inform you that I have read in the newspapers that you intend to see representatives of the States' people. A cutting from a paper is enclosed herewith for your information.<sup>1</sup> You may be aware of the fact that the sole representative organisation of the States' Muslims is the All India States' Muslim League, whose presidentship has been entrusted to me.

The States' People's Conference with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as its President or any other organisation cannot justifiably discuss any problem regarding the States' Muslims. I am confident that you will not neglect the Muslims of the States and that you would welcome the idea of interviewing me in the capacity of the President of the All India States' Muslim League to find out their point of view.

I am on a short tour at present: on the 30th and 31st March, I shall be at Indore, on the 1st and 2nd April at Jubbulpore and on the 3rd April at Allahabad, where from 3rd to the 6th of April the annual session of the Muslim League is to be held. If you will appoint time for my interview on the 1st or 2nd of April, I can drop Jubbulpore from my programme and go to Delhi. At Indore, till the 31st March, I shall wait for your telegram till 6 p.m.

Yours sincerely,  
BAHADUR YAR JUNG  
*President,*  
*All India States Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>Not traced.

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*F. F. Turnbull to M. A. Jinnah**F. 19/2*

3 QUEEN VICTORIA ROAD,  
NEW DELHI,  
29 March 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Sir Stafford Cripps has asked me to send you the enclosed revised version of paragraph (e)<sup>1</sup> of the draft Declaration [about the future of India] which he has been discussing with Indian leaders and which is to be released this afternoon at 6 p.m. for publication tomorrow morning. He has decided to publish the document with paragraph (e) amended in the manner shown.

Yours very truly,

F. F. TURNBULL

*Private Secretary to Sir Stafford Cripps*

<sup>1</sup>See F. 19/17, QAP. Not printed.

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*M. A. Jinnah to F. F. Turnbull**F. 19/6*

IMMEDIATE/URGENT

NEW DELHI,  
30 March 1942

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 29th<sup>1</sup> yesterday late in the afternoon, informing me that Sir Stafford Cripps has decided to publish and release to the press the enclosed revised version of paragraph (e) of the draft Declaration by 6 p.m. the same day.

The previous day on the 28th of March during my interview<sup>2</sup> at 4.30 p.m. when I sought clarifications, I was not given any information that it was contemplated to revise paragraph (e).

However, may I request you to ask Sir Stafford Cripps to let me know what this change or amendment signifies, as my Working Committee is meeting today at 5 p.m. so that we may be able to

consider the difference between the original and the revised paragraph (e).

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

F. F. Turnbull, Esq.,  
Private Secretary to Sir Stafford Cripps,  
3 Queen Victoria Road,  
New Delhi

<sup>1</sup>No. 427.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 413, TP, I, 512-3.

## 429

*R. Stafford Cripps to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 19/4-5*

3 QUEEN VICTORIA ROAD,  
NEW DELHI,  
30 March 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I had the opportunity of a short talk with H.E. the Viceroy last night, during which he discussed with me his views as to the implementation of clause (e)<sup>1</sup> of the draft Declaration.

It must be clearly understood that the final definition of the division of responsibilities between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India is as stated in paragraph (e) of the document. I propose to make the position as to this as clear as I can in my broadcast tonight.

The Viceroy would be prepared to consult with Indian leaders on this basis to see whether it were possible to designate an Indian to some office connected with the Government of India's defence responsibilities without in anyway impinging upon the functions and duties of the Commander-in-Chief either in his capacity as Supreme Commander of the armed forces in India or as the member of the Executive Council, in charge of Defence.

Yours sincerely,  
R. STAFFORD CRIPPS

<sup>1</sup>See No. 427, note 1.

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*R. Stafford Cripps to M. A. Jinnah**F. 19/3*

IMMEDIATE

3 QUEEN VICTORIA ROAD,  
NEW DELHI,  
30 March 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your immediate and urgent note<sup>1</sup> of today to my Secretary arrived after I had written<sup>2</sup> to you this morning. The changes in paragraph (e) to which you refer are of my own making and are due to the fact that I felt that some clarification of this paragraph was desirable. When we last met I had not received His Majesty's Government's approval to these changes and was, therefore, not in a position to inform you of them. As soon as I was able to say definitely that paragraph (e) would be revised, the new text of it was communicated simultaneously to you and the other principal leaders with whom I have been having discussions.

Yours sincerely,  
R. STAFFORD CRIPPS<sup>1</sup>No. 428.<sup>2</sup>No. 429.

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*Hamidul Huq to M. A. Jinnah**F. 283/1-2*34 BENIAPUKUR ROAD,  
CALCUTTA,  
30 March 1942

Dear Sir,

Some of us held some discussions after the British offer was known this morning. One point that struck us is that the demand for Pakistan or for a separate state in India has come from the Muslims and they have made it the corner-stone of their political future. The Hindus with equal unanimity are opposing this demand. In this view, to refer this for the decision of both the Hindus and Muslims of each province is to create insurmountable difficulties in the way of the



demand. We, therefore, think that the question should be decided by the Muslims of those provinces in which the Muslims are in a majority over the Hindus. We may agree to a provision that 80 per cent of the Muslims' support will be necessary to give effect to the demand. It is impossible to expect that even 5 per cent of the Muslims may not be opposed to Pakistan and they, added to the Hindu vote, will certainly give the opponent a majority against the demand. Failing this, we might insist that the European elements in the assemblies should not vote.

If the question is referred to the country then only male adult people should vote and no female should be required to vote.

One point more which may kindly be treated as confidential. If the scheme is accepted, possibly you will like to nominate ■ Bengali Muslim in the Viceroy's Executive Council. In selecting such a person, you will kindly remember that we have not many men in whom the Muslim public have confidence to be the leader in Bengal politics for work in the Province, and in the absence of a good leader our future work here will be seriously prejudiced, and also the mobilisation of the Province on the Pakistan question will be seriously and adversely affected.

Excuse this hurried writing.

Yours sincerely,  
HAMIDUL HUQ  
MLC

PS. I am just now informed that Fazlul Huq has removed me from my office as D.L.R [Deputy Legal Remembrancer].

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*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/216-8*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
30 March 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing leaders of Bose Party's organ, *Hindustan Standard*,<sup>1</sup> and the Congress-Mahasabha organ, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*<sup>2</sup> (30-3-42) on Cripps Plan.

The fifth-column party of Bosite Hindus and Mahasabhaites and Congressites are inclined to torpedo it on one or the other plea as they do not want any settlement at all. At least that is the prevailing feeling of the Bengali Hindus.

The Muslims feel deeply disappointed that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation has not been expressly recognized. The attempt to solve the international cultural and political problems of India by a process of covering and confusing the real issues by over-emphasising the territorial entities of the provinces, which are mere accidents of British policy and administrative divisions, is fundamentally wrong. It is an unnatural attempt at solving the world's most complex international problem of the sub-continent of India by over-simplification of the case.

Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the right of Muslim national self-determination is unequivocally recognized and implemented equally for the Muslim as well as the Hindu and the Dravidian nations.

The veto power, suggested by *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, for the minorities in the matter of 'accession' will simply mean that while the Hindus will dominate the decision for all-India Union or federation in all the provinces of India, the Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab will be at the mercy of the minorities who will exert themselves to their fullest length for keeping the Muslims tied to the chariot-wheels of Hindudom. The Muslims will be doomed to subjection in all the provinces.

1. It must, therefore, be pressed that no accession to Union will be valid unless it is by 80 per cent Muslim electors' verdict.

2. The Muslims will not accept any rule or procedure of election unless the League approves it.

3. It appears that the British Plan is the result of war panic and is based on the denial of the most basic, essential and stubborn fact of the Indian life—the question of communities, cultures, religions and races. It is like an attempt of [sic for at] imposing joint territorial electorates, ignoring the communities of India—an attempt which Lord Minto described as 'doomed to mischievous failure'.

4. The treaties for the protection of the rights of minorities must be on the basis of reciprocity.

5. The question of the adjustment of the geography and territory of the provinces or units has been entirely ignored. Who will decide this question and how?

6. The Pakistan union map cannot be complete without Delhi,

Agra, Deoband and Aligarh.

7. The Dravidnad may be carved out as the Union of the Deccan. The Nizam may confederate with Dravidnad provided it recognises Nizam's leadership of the Deccan Union and Islam as the state religion of Hyderabad. But this may be settled later with the Justice Party leaders.

8. It is clear, however, that henceforth we must make a total war effort for Pakistan propaganda in Bengal and the Punjab. We should consider no amount of money as too great a price for making Pakistan the creed of every Bengali and Punjabi Muslim. We should mobilize our entire resources of men, money, and moral and spiritual power for educating and winning the electorates.

9. Last but not the least, we must make great efforts at making political pacts with the Depressed Classes and such other parties, e.g. Dravidians, Adibasis, Christians and Anglo-Indians, as will be ready to join us and work together for warding off the menace of all-India Caste-Hindu Federation.

Yours sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN

Note:

The Bengalis are generally refusing to recognize the fact that Subhas Bose has died. They say in Calcutta that it is all fraud and that Bose is alive and will soon land in Bengal. Please note the leader of Subhas Bose's paper, *Hindustan Standard*, on the report of Bose's death.

<sup>1&2</sup>Not traced.

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*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 204/219

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
31 March 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending you the enclosed report of the second day's reaction regarding the British Plan.

Yours sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN

*Enclosure*

F. 204/220-3

## SECOND DAY'S REACTION IN MUSLIM BENGAL

I wrote you yesterday something regarding the first day's reaction of the Bengal Muslims to Cripps Plan.

On further thought and study of the Muslim mind in Bengal, I see that the disappointment and resentment of the Muslims is deepening.

The Muslims object to the British Plan on many grounds, e.g.:

## OVER-SIMPLIFICATION

It appears that the British have been unnerved and demoralized and seem [poised] to make a hasty retreat from India in panic and are, therefore, not ready to give close and careful consideration to the problem and machinery of the transfer of power. They are over-simplifying the complex problem of India by ignoring living communities and extolling provinces which are mere accidents of British policy.

## MUSLIM SELF-DETERMINATION

The Muslims deeply resent and regard it as an insult to their sense of self-respect that the British Declaration has not expressly recognized Muslims' right of self-determination as a nation who alone among the congeries of castes, classes and races of India is socially and culturally unified enough to rightly deserve the title of a nation and the position of nationhood. Muslim India and Muslim Bengal will not be satisfied unless and until Muslims' right of self-determination as a nation is pledged and plighted in unequivocal terms.

## FORM AND COMPLEXION OF PRESENT PROVINCIAL AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENTS

Then there is nothing to enthuse the Muslims regarding the form and complexion of the present Provincial and Central Governments for the present and till the duration of the War and the election of the Constitution-making body.

This 'interim' period will be the most important, vital and formative in India's history for the complexion of the Provincial and Central Governments; it will fundamentally and profoundly shape and influence the complexion of the post-War Provincial legislatures and Provincial Governments, and consequently will make or mar the



electoral rolls, electoral college and the constitution-making body.

The Muslims cannot accept quisling governments in Sind, Bengal and Frontier for the present or future.

The Muslims cannot accept position of inferiority at the Centre.

#### MUSLIMS' DEMANDS

a. The Muslims cannot accept the position of helpless pariahs in the provinces.

b. There must be general elections, as in Egypt, in Bengal, Sind, Assam, the Punjab and the Frontier.

c. To be more definite, Bengal Muslims intensely desire and strongly demand immediate freedom from the quisling-cum-Hindu-Mahasabha Ministry, imposed on them by the British. Unless this is done, Bengal will be lost.

d. The Muslims must get effective and real share in the Central War Government and War Councils of the United Nations on 50-50 basis.

e. The Muslims must get equal and fair representation in the future peace conference and other international bodies commensurate with their sacrifices and world position.

#### REFLECTION OF POPULATION RATIO IN THE LEGISLATURES

The Muslims will not agree to the formation of the constitution-making body unless the principle of proportional communal representation through communal electorates relating to the provincial legislatures is accepted for the Muslims and all other communities, which have been recognized by the India Act of 1935, and others who may demand it.

Unless the Muslim population ratios in Bengal, the Punjab, Assam, Sind and the Frontier are fully and fairly reflected in the provincial legislatures and the principle of this reflection is accepted, Muslims cannot accept the present provincial legislatures, formed under the Communal Award [of 1932] as a just and fair basis for constitution-making body.

#### LORD WEDGWOOD'S WARNING

We must take heed of the danger hinted by the Labourite Lord Wedgwood, ex-Secretary of State for India,<sup>1</sup> that under the plan the Muslims will get majority only in Sind and Frontier Provinces and even there the strength of the Muslim League and the Congress will

be evenly divided. Thus the fate of Muslim India will be sealed.

This is not justice and fairplay.

#### GUARANTEES FOR FREE ELECTIONS

Lord Wedgwood's statement and the Cripps Plan place a premium on the Congress drive of mass contact, demoralization and bribing of Muslims on largest scale.

The Muslims, therefore, demand that there must be [the] fullest guarantee of a free Muslim election without the slightest interference by non-Muslims in the Muslim electorate.

There must be an agreement to the effect that all the communities will be free to enter into free agreements before or after the elections through their accredited organizations but no community will interfere in the electorate of another community.

#### RULES OF PLEBISCITE

The Muslims demand that no accession to the Union may be regarded as final unless it is supported by 80 per cent of the electors of the province. Before it is done by 80 per cent votes, it should remain open to challenge by plebiscite and no accession should be valid by plebiscite unless supported by 60 per cent of the electors of the province. The linguistic provinces, being more real, more historic and more basic factors than the artificial Centre, established by the sword of Britain, it is but fair, natural and reasonable that the communities and linguistic provinces should be allowed to start with a bias against the Union [*sic*].

The League must have an equal or 50 per cent control and supervision of the plebiscite, the election administration and election of the legislature, electoral colleges and constitution-making body or bodies.

#### ELECTORAL ROLLS

The Muslims must have an equal or 50 per cent control on the preparation of electoral rolls in the provinces.

#### MINORITY RIGHTS AND TREATY OF RECIPROCITY

The provision for safeguarding minority rights by treaties between the Unions and Britain is worse than illusory because the British will have no authority, no power and no interest to see their fulfilment.

The only practical, effective and reasonable method of safeguarding minority rights is (i) the creation of a balance of power between the Muslims, the Hindus, Depressed Classes and the Dravidians and (ii)

the contracting of equal treaties between the Muslim and Hindu States for the protection of their nationals on the basis of equality, mutuality and reciprocity.

The British may only stipulate for the enforcement of uniform conditions of religious freedom, *Tabligh*, education and culture universally applicable to all the States.

The Muslim League should stipulate for the immediate introduction of reforms on the basis of India Act of 1935 in Baluchistan by bringing British Baluchistan and the Baluch States under ■ form of Baluchistan Union.

Right of secession from the All India [*sic* for Union] must be guaranteed for the units.

<sup>1</sup>Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for India in Ramsay MacDonald's Labour Government, 1929-31.

## 434

*S. Zafarul Hasan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 19/7-9*

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH,  
31 March 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Regarding the Declaration as to the future of India, proposed by the British War Cabinet and published<sup>1</sup> by Sir Stafford Cripps, I wish to submit the following:

It fundamentally assumes that India is one nation, and proposes to give it one administration on the principle of majority government. No doubt, it apparently keeps open the possibility of Pakistan but only as ■ sheer theoretical possibility, but [*sic* for rather as] a sure practical impossibility.

However, the Congress may take exception to Dominion Status and not independence, which the proposal contemplates, as also to defence as the exclusive responsibility of the British during the war. Therefore, it would perhaps be advisable not to announce our (Muslim League) decision before the Congress has announced its decision.

In announcing our decision, we may press for the following points:



1. That in the constitution-making body, the representation of the Hindus, Muslims, Scheduled Classes [*sic* for Castes], etc., should be proportionate to their population and not to their strength in the Provincial Legislatures where India Act of 1935 has unjustly reduced them to a statutory minority (e.g. in Bengal and [the] Punjab).

Further, the representatives should be elected on the principle of separate elections [*sic* for electorates], i.e. Hindus by Hindus and Muslims by Muslims, etc.

The constitution should not be made by mere [simple] majority but by 75 per cent majority—the minimum requisite of all fundamental [*sic*] constitutions being that it should be made by an overwhelming majority.

2. The right of keeping out of the proposed 'Union of India,' we must demand:

- (a) That the right shall be exercised by representatives elected on the above principle—proportionate and separate election.
- (b) Further, if dissatisfied with the result of (a), there should be the right to claim a plebiscite.
- (c) Moreover, to the right of keeping out must be added the right of secession from the Union at a later date if any large tract of the country so desires.

The decisions in (a) (b) and (c) shall be by simple majority.

Over and above these technical points, we may make the claim that because the Musalmans are a nation by themselves, therefore, questions about their future must be decided by a reference to them alone and not by a reference to a mixed medley of heterogeneous nationalities. In justice and equity, ■ plebiscite of all the Muslims of India should be held to ascertain whether they wish to remain in the Union of India or not. If the result of the plebiscite does not favour remaining in the Union, then ■ readjustment should be made in the boundaries of the present provinces in order to separate the majority Muslim tracts from the majority non-Muslim tracts with a view to put the former in separate and independent states or dominions.

Sincerely yours,  
(DR.) S. ZAFARUL HASAN  
*Professor of Philosophy*



## 435

*A. Khalique Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 875/61*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
31 March 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I invite your attention to the words 'single electoral college' in the following passage of the War Cabinet's proposals:

Immediately upon the result being known of provincial elections, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of Provincial Legislatures shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation.<sup>1</sup>

This, perhaps, means that the Musalmans will not have the right of choosing their representatives to the constituent assembly by separate electorate as the entire membership of the Lower Houses will vote as a single electoral college. What is guaranteed is, probably, their representation in proportion to their number. Does not this mean that both Muslim and Hindu representatives will be selected by the Hindu members of the assemblies who will be in a majority?

Yours sincerely,  
A. KHALIQUE KHAN

<sup>1</sup>See F. 19/14, para (d), QAP. Not printed.

## 436

*Abdul Hamid Iqbal to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 875/59-60*

JULLUNDUR CITY,  
31 March 1942

Dear Sir,

The only good thing in the British proposals from the Muslim standpoint is the right of choice of accession, conferred upon the provinces, but there is nothing in these proposals to show whether this right can be effectively exercised. The proposals do not lay down

any procedure regarding the choice of accession, and unless this is done Muslims are unable to decide whether this right of choice is something real and tangible or merely illusory. The procedure, suggested by Sir Stafford, perhaps off-hand, in reply to a question at the press conference, is ambiguous and misleading. I feel, therefore, that the Working Committee should get this matter cleared up and insist upon the inclusion of the procedure regarding the aforementioned right of choice within the draft declaration.

Yours truly,  
ABDUL HAMID IQBAL  
*Pleader*

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*Mohammad Amin Khan Tarin to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 957/76-8*

MULTAN,  
31 March 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

My pen is going to put forth before you some suggestions which, though coming from a very negligible man, may be of some help to the Muslim community. If I say that Muslim League is neglecting ~~some~~ thing, I do not accuse it of doing nothing. I simply lay before you one major thing which is being neglected and which, in the absence of any step being taken to achieve it, may result in wholesale destruction of Muslim community. You will be in the know of it that Maharaja of Patiala is organising the Sikhs, and a very large number of guns and ammunition has been distributed amongst them. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan had not the moral strength to enforce the order of the High Court by which the Sikhs were forbidden by law to keep their *nishan*. It is still with them but Muslims whose forefathers were renowned for their bravery have been absolutely disarmed. Muslim community had given birth to one man who took over [*sic* for upon] his shoulders the burdensome and the most important task of organising the Musalmans. Whose fault it was that that man, I mean [Allama Inayatullah] Mashriqi, was deported and interned, one cannot definitely know. But if Sir Sikander had any spirit of sacrifice, he would not have allowed such a fate to befall one of the greatest

Muslim leaders, who could prove to be your military arm and would have served the Muslim community in the event of ■ Sikh onslaught.

Sir Cripps is in India, seeing the leaders of various communities. It is now the time for you, being the leader of Musalmans, to try your best to recall Allama. If you ■■■ not able to do so, I dare say, you have neglected a very major issue.

Again if you cannot do this thing, you may organise Muslims through the Muslim League. Hard times are coming, Mr. Jinnah! we must be prepared for it. Whether I feel wrongly or rightly, I am sure our fate is sealed if we don't step ■ bit further. Muslim youth has awakened, and if they can compel the British Govt. to accede to Pakistan they can do everything. Only lead them rightly. They want ■ lead and action is their very nature.

Please add to your Muslim League Constitution the clause which may be liable [sic], nay make incumbent for all the Muslim League branches, to start military parades and to organise the League members on the lines of ■ martial race. It would be very useful in the event of the expected danger. Please act if this suggestion of mine touches and appeals to you.

I know you are too busy these days but please scribble ■ few lines of acknowledgment to let me know that my voice has reached you.

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD AMIN KHAN TARIN  
*President,*  
*Muslim Students Federation Multan*

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*A. Quasem to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 414/1-2*

PARK CIRCUS,  
CALCUTTA,  
31 March 1942

Dear Sir,

May I be permitted to address you ■ few lines regarding the proposals of the British Government.<sup>1</sup> As ■ Bengali Muslim, I have no hesitation in declaring the proposals as unsatisfactory and unacceptable

so far at any rate as Bengal is concerned. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly of 250 members not even half the number is Muslim. There are 25 Europeans who are not permanent residents of the Province. They are mere opportunists and will be sure to back the Hindus. The option given to the Provinces so far as Bengal is concerned appears to be meaningless and illusory as regards Bengali Muslims' demand for Pakistan. Constituted as the Bengal Legislature is, the Hindus will take good care to see that the Muslim demand is throttled and does not find effective expression. I venture to think that as Bengal is a Muslim majority Province and as Muslim population strength is not reflected in the composition of the Legislature, it is the Muslim members of the Assembly alone who should be given the right to declare for accession or non-accession to the Union, that the Europeans should not be given the right to vote or participate in the matter, and that the ultimate referendum should be [limited] to the adult Muslim male population alone. I have no time to write at length but you know the conditions in Bengal, and we look up to you to see that the cause of Bengal Muslims does not suffer so far as our ideal of Pakistan is concerned. May I be permitted to express my general opinion that the way in which the option given to the provinces is to be expressed leaves little room for doubt that the Muslim League ideal of Pakistan will not be realised.

Yours sincerely,

A. QUASEM

*Member of Bengal Legislative Council,*

*All India Muslim League Council*

*and Bengal Provincial*

*Muslim League Council and Working Committee*

<sup>1</sup>See No. 434, note 1.



# APPENDIX I

## COMMUNALISM IN BIHAR

### I. 1

*M. A. Majeed to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 384/4*

MOTIHARI,  
30 March 1942

Dear Sir,

I beg to submit herewith fifty copies of the pamphlet<sup>1</sup> entitled *A True Story of Communalism in Bihar*, and request you to be so good as to take necessary steps for removing the Muslim grievances enumerated in the pamphlet.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. MAJEED  
MLA

<sup>1</sup>Appendix I. 2.

*Enclosure*  
*A True Story of Communalism in Bihar*  
*F. 384/5-6*

MOTIHARI,  
25 December 1941

The object of this little brochure is to show to the public and the Govt. how successfully a person of one community can harass and oppress persons of another community even in a Govt. Dept. The story relates to Babu Inderdeo Singh, M. A., Special Officer of Canegrowers Cooperative Societies, Champaran Circle. His antecedents are as under:

- i. An active member of Congress Civil Disobedience Movement.
- ii. Co-operative Cane Organizer three years back.
- iii. Appointed as Special Officer during the Congress Ministry of Bihar in the middle of 1938.

The public would usually expect that a man of Congress principles and having courted imprisonment for the cause of Congress would deal with his subordinates with sympathy and

justice, without a tinge of communal bias. Of course, Congressmen claim themselves to be free from communalism. But there are individuals for whom it is difficult to discard their communal bias though they pass as [sic for for] Congressmen. The following chapters will show how Babu Inderdeo Singh has been ruthlessly spoiling the careers of Muslim employees working under him. Before taking [sic for having] recourse to publication of this pamphlet, I had interviewed the Cane Commissioner, Bihar, and had also written to him about the grievances of the Muslim employees, but things have gone from bad to worse. The writer, however, does not mean that all the Hindu Circle Officers are harassing the Muslim employees. On the other hand, my enquiries reveal that other Circle Officers, such as Babu Singhasini Prasad and Babu Vaidyanath Prasad, are kind and just to their Muslim subordinates.

In the year 1940, the Cane Commissioner, Bihar, asked the Special Officers to recommend such cane supervisors who [sic for as] should be promoted to the posts of Cane Organizer in temporary vacancies. Babu Inderdeo Singh sent up the name of Moulvi S. M. Yusuf along with others for promotion as Cane Organizer. But after ■ fortnight he wrote to the Cane Commissioner to cancel the name of Moulvi Yusuf. Perhaps he could not tolerate the idea that a Muslim should be promoted on his recommendation. The claim of Moulvi Yusuf was superseded by giving promotion to junior cane supervisors in the Circle (all Hindus). Moulvi Yusuf represented his case to the Cane Commissioner. No enquiry was made into his representation. He was condemned as a bad worker and when he applied for his transfer from Champaran Circle to another Circle his application was treated as waste paper. Even a very modest prayer for transfer from one Circle to another was not entertained and now material is being gathered to sack him.

The second victim of this communalism was Moulvi Mohammad Hanif, Cane Supervisor. Just after temporary vacancies in the posts of Cane Organizer were filled up in the year 1940, the Cane Commissioner asked the Special Officers to select Assistant Cane Inspectors from amongst Cane Supervisors. Moulvi Yusuf was selected as Asst. Cane Inspector by the Cane Commissioner himself, otherwise he would not have been selected by Babu Inderdeo Singh. In fact, Babu Inderdeo Singh resented and protested against the selection of Moulvi Yusuf by the Cane Commissioner. Out of six vacancies, Babu Inderdeo Singh selected only one Muslim supervisor, Moulvi S. M. Shoaib, and gave the appointments to the most junior Hindu Cane Supervisors, ignoring the claim of Moulvi Hanif, ■ senior man. Moulvi Hanif also represented his case to the Cane Commissioner but

without any result.

The third victim of this communalism was Moulvi S. M. Owais Siddique, Accountant of the Special Officer. Charges of delay in putting up papers to the Special Officer were brought against the Accountant. In his explanation, Moulvi Owais dealt with the causes of delay which were more due to the fault of the Special Officer himself than his. Moulvi Owais also represented that there were two more non-Muslims working in the office and they were equally to blame for the delay but no enquiry was made to find out the truth and the poor Accountant, having 14 years good service at his credit, was sacked.

The fourth victim of this communalism was Moulvi S. M. Shoaib, Cane Supervisor. He was transferred from Pusa Circle to Champaran Circle in the month of July 1940. He was fortunate to escape the communal axe of the Special Officer till the end of 1940, as he worked elsewhere and was on leave. Soon after he rejoined under Babu Inderdeo Singh, material was gathered for drawing up proceedings against him. He came to Champaran Circle with good service record but now there is no dearth of censure. Luckily, orders have been passed by the Cane Commissioner for his transfer from Champaran Circle to another Circle. But the Special Officer protested against this transfer. Perhaps he would lose the opportunity of sacking this man. The future will show as to how many Muslim employees will lose their service while working under Babu Inderdeo Singh. There are rumours that two more Muslim employees are shortly to be removed from service. It may be noted that there were seven Muslim employees working under this Special Officer and almost all have been made the target of communal bias.

The communal feeling of Babu Inderdeo Singh is manifest in very ordinary cases of leave, posting and travelling allowance of the employees. The following events may be quoted as examples:

- i. Moulvi Yusuf, Cane Supervisor, asked for medical leave with medical certificate of the Medical Officer of Dholi Dispensary. The Special Officer refused to entertain the petition and directed the Supervisor to submit the medical certificate of the Civil Asst. Surgeon of Muzaffarpur, whereas the leave application of Babu Ramadhar Upadhyaya, another Supervisor, with the medical certificate of the Medical Officer of Dholi Dispensary was entertained.
- ii. Moulvi Shoaib, Supervisor, applied for two days casual leave on account of slight illness. He was asked to produce a medical certificate from the Civil Asst. Surgeon whereas in the case of another Hindu Supervisor of the same place, special casual leave was allowed even in the case of overstay.



- iii. Moulvi S. M. Jamil Ahmad, Cane Supervisor, prayed for fixing his headquarters at Bettiah for a short period where his predecessor, a Hindu Supervisor, was living. But Moulvi Jamil was directed to live in the interior.
- iv. Travelling allowance bills of Muslim employees have been arbitrarily reduced much below the monthly allotment while Hindu employees have been allowed more than the allotment.
- v. No salary was paid to Moulvi Hanif, Cane Supervisor, for six months. Even the salary drawn from the treasury for one month was got refunded and the poor man was put to starvation.

In case of Muslim employees serious notice has been taken of petty matters while in the case of Hindu employees most serious matters have been shelved. It is a birthright of the Congressmen to rule India and it seems it is also a birthright of Congressmen like Babu Inderdeo Singh to harass and oppress Muslims. Messrs Gandhi and Jawaharlal [Nehru] have promised bread to every Indian irrespective of caste, creed and religion and Babu Inderdeo Singh is systematically trying to deprive Muslims of the same. There is no consideration of justice, what to speak of sympathy and good will.

The Govt. have now become constitutional [*sic*]. The Head of Dept. must believe the reports of the officers in charge of the circles as it would be against the constitution [*sic*] and administration not to accept the recommendations of the Circle Officers. The time is now gone when the head of ■ Dept. used to intervene if a superior officer, with a view to gratifying his prejudice and passion, did injustice to a subordinate officer working under him.

The preceding chapters have shown the cases of injustice and hardships done to the Muslim employees within a period of three years' administration of Babu Inderdeo Singh. There must be much more in store for them. On the other hand, cases of Hindu employees were always recommended for promotion. Two Hindu employees were given promotion to the posts of temporary Cane Organizers and three were promoted to the posts of Local Auditors within this period. In this sad plight and the dread of losing their service, Muslim employees cannot dream of getting any recommendation from Babu Inderdeo Singh for any promotion. It however looks unfortunate that all these troubles have arisen since Babu Sadashiv Prasad joined the Head Office as Senior Special Officer. Had he not been in the Head Office, things would have been quite different. I am told that none can have any grievance against the Cane Commissioner who is upright and benevolent and held in very high esteem.

The story will be incomplete without mentioning the serious



charges against Babu Inderdeo Singh himself. But he considers himself immune from any responsibility. I am informed that Moulvi Yusuf in his representation to the Cane Commissioner has given instances of illegal work which the Special Officer enjoined on him. He has also given instances of serious illegalities done by the Special Officer himself. Moulvi Yusuf has further mentioned that the headquarters of the Cane Organizer, Sugauli, were fixed at Motihari in official papers although the Organizer lived with his family members at Sugauli. This was done to enable the Organizer, Babu J. P. Misir, to pile up the amount of his travelling allowance bills. But when Moulvi Yusuf proposed to bring his ailing wife at Motihari for treatment and sought permission to fix his headquarters at Motihari without any additional cost to Govt. (the travelling allowance between Motihari and Sugauli being not charged), it was refused. Moulvi Owais has also represented in his explanation that sometime the Special Officer checked the Cash Book after one year and an average checking was done by him after six months within a period of about three years. Moulvi Owais was Accountant. But the blame was cast on the Accountant for the negligence of the Special Officer. Moulvi Owais has also submitted that rent for occupying a very small room of the office building was realized from him while the Special Officer and others occupied the office building without paying any rent to Govt. Just to gratify his whim and passion, the Special Officer locked the office of the Motihari Cane Marketing Union for twelve days and closed its business. This caused great sensation among the canegrowers. The Secretary of the Marketing Union approached the Cane Commissioner to seek redress but he was turned out from his post. His fault was that he did not help the Special Officer in sacking a Muslim employee.

What is true of Babu Inderdeo Singh with respect to his strong communal feeling, is possible of other similar oppressions against Muslim employees serving under similar communal [-minded] officers. But the facts are not brought to the notice of the public and the Govt. And yet the Congress or freedom-loving people will clamour for independence without safeguards for the minorities. It is just possible that the same offence might be committed where Muslims are in majority. Such actions deserve universal condemnation. I appeal to the public and the Govt. both to consider seriously the sad state of affairs prevailing in the Champaran Circle of the Canegrowers Cooperative Dept. and to take suitable steps to remedy the same.

M. A. MAJEED

B.A., B.L.

MLA

# Glossary

<i>'Aala Hazrat</i>	Highly dignified
<i>Aameen</i>	So be it (said at the end of ■ prayer)
<i>Ahadis/Hadith</i>	Sayings of the holy Prophet [PBUH]
<i>Akhand</i>	Undivided; united
<i>Akhand Hindustan</i>	United India
<i>Akharas</i>	Wrestling arenas or rings
<i>Akhuwwat</i>	Brotherhood
<i>Ameer</i>	<i>Leader</i>
<i>Anna</i>	1/16th of ■ rupee (no longer legal tender)
<i>Arzdasht</i>	Petition; application
<i>Assalaamo 'Alaikum</i>	Peace be upon you
<i>Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu</i>	Peace, mercy and blessings of <i>Allah</i> be upon you
<i>Bait al-Mal</i>	Public treasury in an Islamic State
<i>Bande Matram</i>	Hail to thee, Mother
<i>Bania</i>	Hindu shopkeeper; money-lender
<i>Begum Sahiba</i>	Wife; lady
<i>Bhalas</i>	Spears; lances
<i>Binnot</i>	A sort of weapon
<i>Congresswallas</i>	Members/supporters of Indian National Congress
<i>Darus Salaam</i>	Abode of peace
<i>Din</i>	Religion; faith
<i>Fakir</i>	Beggar; dervish; mystic
<i>Farman</i>	Declaration
<i>Fidais</i>	Those ready to sacrifice their lives
<i>Ghat</i>	Wharf
<i>Goondas</i>	Hooligans
<i>Hajj</i>	Pilgrimage to Makkah
<i>Haris</i>	Peasants
<i>Hartal</i>	Strike
<i>Hazrat</i>	Dignified
<i>Hidayat</i>	Instruction
<i>Hijra</i>	Migration
<i>Hindustan Azad</i>	Free India

<i>'Id</i>	Muslim festival at the conclusion of fasting month
<i>'Id al-Azha</i>	Muslim festival of sacrifice of animals celebrated on the 10th of <i>Zilhij</i>
<i>'Idgah</i>	Place for <i>'Id</i> prayers
<i>Imams</i>	Muslim religious leaders or those leading the prayers
<i>Inqilab Zindabad</i>	Long live revolution
<i>Insha Allah</i>	God willing
<i>Jagir</i>	Fief; land
<i>Jagiri</i>	Relating to fief; land
<i>Jama'at</i>	A body of people; congregation
<i>Jamadari</i>	A title in Hyderabad State
<i>Jamadiul Awwal</i>	Fifth month of Islamic calendar
<i>Jihad</i>	Struggle for a just cause
<i>Jum'a</i>	Friday
<i>Khaddar</i>	Home-spun cloth
<i>Khalifa</i>	Caliph of Islam
<i>Khatedars</i>	Account-holders
<i>Khilafat</i>	Caliphate
<i>Khilafatists</i>	Adherents of caliphate
<i>Kufristan</i>	Land of infidels
<i>Lascars</i>	Sailors
<i>Maashdars/Maashdaran</i>	Estate-holders
<i>Masha Allah</i>	By the grace of <i>Allah</i>
<i>Maulana/Moulvi</i>	Muslim theologian
<i>Millat</i>	Nation
<i>Mofussil</i>	Countryside
<i>Mohajirs</i>	Migrants
<i>Moharram</i>	First month of Islamic calendar
<i>Munafiqeen/Munafiqs</i>	Hypocrites
<i>Naib-Tehsildar</i>	An official of revenue department
<i>Nishan</i>	Symbol; mark
<i>Pandal</i>	A temporary enclosure erected for a public meeting
<i>Peshwas</i>	Spiritual leaders
<i>Pucca</i>	Strong; made of concrete
<i>Purdah</i>	Veil
<i>Qiadat</i>	Leadership

<i>Qur'an</i>	Holy book of Muslims based on revelations of <i>Allah</i> to His last Prophet
<i>Rahbar-i-Millat</i>	Leader of the nation
<i>Rais</i>	A wealthy person; chief
<i>Raj</i>	Government; rule
<i>Ramazan</i>	Fasting month of Muslims
<i>Ram raj</i>	The rule of Rama in ancient India
<i>Rashtrapati</i>	Head of State
<i>Rasool</i>	Prophet
<i>Salaam</i>	Muslim salutation
<i>Shariat</i>	Islamic code of law
<i>Sher-i-Islam</i>	Lion/hero of Islam
<i>Shoba-e-Islamyat</i>	Department of Islamic Studies
<i>Swaraj</i>	Self rule; independence
<i>Tabligh</i>	Preaching
<i>Taccavi</i>	Agricultural
<i>Taluqa</i>	Estate; ■ revenue administrative unit
<i>'Ulama</i>	Muslim religious scholars
<i>Unani</i>	Greek; ■ system of medicine indigenous to South Asia
<i>Vakil</i>	Lawyer; advocate; pleader; counsel
<i>Wassalaam</i>	And peace be upon you
<i>Zakat</i>	A fixed obligatory payment by ■ Muslim possessing assets of a specified value
<i>Zindabad</i>	Long live



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